

The Month in Review

IT WAS the month of purges. On July 3, without warning, Moscow released a Party CC resolution condemning the "anti-Party group" of Politburo members Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov. Accused of a long catalogue of errors and political "crimes," accused, in effect, of Stalinism, they were removed from the Politburo and the CC. Central Committee Secretary Dimitri Shepilov, "who joined them," suffered a similar fate. The announcement that the triumvirate had been removed from their government positions came next day. On July 5, the changes continued, when Deputy Premiers Pervukhin and Saburov, two of the regime's leading industrial planners, were dismissed from their government jobs. Subsequently, Pervukhin was made chairman of a new State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, a reorganized body which formerly dealt with the People's Democracies only.

One day after the Moscow resolution, the Romanian Party announced the ouster of two long-time Communist leaders, Miron Constantinescu and Iosif Chisinevski, from the Politburo. They, too, were accused of "anti-Party activities." On July 16, in Bulgaria, the formula was repeated: for "anti-Party activities," Georgi Chankov was removed from the Politburo and subsequently his First Deputy Premiership, and Generals Yonko Panov and Dobri Terpeshev were expelled from the Central Committee.

According to the best information now available, largely from Polish sources, the Moscow purge followed a tense Politburo meeting at which the fallen triumvirate attempted to unseat Khrushchev as Party leader. According to the Polish Party paper *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), July 9, they accused Khrushchev of "rightist" or "rightist-peasant" deviation for his stress on agricultural production (in his vaunted program to equal US per capita output) rather than industry. They demanded, according to the Polish paper, Khrushchev's and Bulganin's resignation and intended to install Molotov as First Party Secretary, Malenkov again as Premier.

Khrushchev counterattacked by convening a plenary session of the Central Committee on June 22, over the protests of the triumvirate. The Party boss' control over the Party apparatus proved firm; the triumvirate were faced with solid opposition, and at the end, we are told, all of the conspirators confessed their "guilt" and, with the exception of Molotov who abstained, voted for the resolution condemning themselves.

As always in considering the apex of Communist rule, it is impossible accurately to distinguish between the naked struggle for power and serious ideological differences. It has long been believed that Molotov has indeed advocated "Stalinist" stress on industry rather than relatively increased emphasis on consumer goods production, and has opposed the post-Twentieth Congress program loosening the tightest "Stalinist" controls over the Satellites. Malenkov, however, has since his Premiership been strongly associated with the consumer goods program. An *ad hoc* alliance between these two, together with the veteran Kaganovich, is no doubt possible. However, the charges against the triumvirate may well have no more substance than those of the Great Purges in the Thirties, and may be thorough fabrications to the same purpose — consolidation of the power of the *vozhd*, the boss, then Stalin, now palpably Khrushchev.



At any rate, after Khrushchev's temporary setback in December, when, it appears, he was forced to give some ground on his decentralization plans and was blamed for the Hungarian Revolt, one man is now far closer to absolute power in the Soviet Union than at any time since Stalin's death. That Khrushchev does not intend to use his power in the murderous manner of Stalin (unless, of course, he deems it advisable), is indicated by the continued freedom of his beaten opponents. The spectacle of former Premier Malenkov operating a power station in East Kazakhstan is surely one of the great political sight gags of our time, but a considerable evolution from the bloody cellar graves of Stalin's victims.

The purge indirectly highlighted the pivotal role of the greatest potential power within the USSR, the Red Army. In the Politburo shuffle which followed the purge, Marshal Zhukov, considered the dominant force in the Red Army, was elevated to the Politburo, although he was only one of a number of alternates raised to that eminence. There have been reports that it was Zhukov who, at a crucial moment in the power struggle, threw the Red Army's weight behind Khrushchev, but these are unsubstantiated.

If the realities of the purge in the Kremlin are obscure, those in the Satellites are opaque. The charges against the ousted Romanians were a farrago of pejorative expletive, without apparent direction. They were at once accused of "dogmatism" and of "liberalism," of advocating the violation of "Socialist legality" and of weakening the power of the Security Police. What comes through most clearly is the accusation of association with Ana Pauker and the charges that the men were "petty-bourgeois"; in the context of the Romanian situation, and given the fact that one of the accused is a Jew and the other married to one, it can be surmised that anti-Semitism was a factor in Party leader Gheorghiu-Dej's purge of individuals who threatened his power. Ideological basis for the ousters remains hidden.

The same is true of the Bulgarian changes. It is possible that Chankov, as former chief of economic planning (as was Constantinescu in Romania), is being made the scapegoat for economic ills. The two lesser figures, Panov and Terpeshev, have been noted for past connections with Yugoslavia, but in the present drive for rapprochement with Tito it seems hardly likely that this would be a significant factor in their ouster.

Immediately after the Soviet purge, the Satellite area resounded with the necessary rituals of agreement and praise. In Poland, tempered gratification was apparent in Gomulka's centrist circles; Gomulka has been under attack from the "Stalinists" of his Party for alleged "right-wing deviation," and the Soviet resolution's denunciation of the triumvirate's "sectarianism" and "dogmatism" — euphemisms for Stalinism — cannot but bolster his position.

Shortly after his victory, Khrushchev, together with Bulganin and other regime leaders, set off for a visit to Czechoslovakia, arriving in Prague July 10. In the difficult past year, no Satellite leaders have shown more abject fealty to Moscow than the Czechoslovaks, and the visit was occasion for a great flood of mutual admiration, of pledges of undying friendship and of eternal Czechoslovak adherence to the USSR, all of which was embodied in a joint resolution announced July 16.

Hungary still smouldered. Unofficial reports told of at least one strike bloodily suppressed, of concentration camps closed since Stalin's death now open and packed with victims. Announcement of arrests and sentences of "counterrevolutionaries" continued. At the end of June a Party Conference was convened to hear Janos Kadar and other regime leaders promise continued suppression of all "revisionist" tendencies, extirpation of all "counterrevolutionary" forces. After the Moscow purge the regime warned the nation that Khrushchev's soft words must not be "misinterpreted" in Hungary; there would be no move toward liberalization. Beside this thundering, the piping voices in which the regime promised not to return to the "dogmatic" excesses of the past could hardly be heard.

The Hungarian Press

An analysis of the character of Hungarian journalism both before and during the national uprising last Fall, and of the changes made in the content, tone and format of publications in the post-Revolt period. Significant quotations from the Hungarian press have been included.

UNTIL STALIN'S DEATH in 1953 the Hungarian press, like that of all Communist-run countries, differed little from the Soviet variety. It was politically orthodox, of dreary format and frankly intended to enlighten through indoctrination. Its columns were on the whole filled with inordinately long humdrum reports, equally long and tedious "theoretical" discussions, "canned" Soviet news, abusive or fawning commentaries. It was an almost totally impersonal kind of journalism, unattractive and devoid of human interest stories. From a Western viewpoint it was a cross between a badly-written, overlong publicity release by a politically-minded construction firm—the statistics of "Socialist building" occupied much of the available space—and an inept pamphlet concocted by a group of political fanatics.

With the advent to power of Imre Nagy in the summer of 1953, Hungarian journalism entered a new era.* For the first time in many years sharp criticism of Communist reality began to appear in print, particularly in the literary journals—in *Irodalmi Újság* (Literary Gazette), the Writers' Union weekly, and *Csillag*, (Star), the Union's monthly—as well as in the intelligentsia's daily, *Magyar Nemzet* (Hungarian Nation), which often crossed swords with the Party's own organ, *Szabad Nép* (Free People). Hungarian journalism began to speak in many voices, so that, in effect, though not in administration, the Party's press monopoly was broken.

This fresh air of freedom could filter through to the pages of many publications because the ideological fracas

* For a detailed discussion of the Hungarian press under the New Course see this magazine, April 1955, pp. 38-42. This article reviewed not only the nascent controversies among various papers but also discussed their status, circulation and orientation.



"Not One But A Thousand Women—As Seen Through The Eyes Of A Cricket." This was the title of the item in which this photo of British actress Anne Heywood was displayed—in the Party's paper, *Nepszabadsag*, of January 13, 1957. The excuse for printing the bare shoulders and "cleavage" was that the cricket's view of Miss Heywood is different—indeed a thousand times different—from the expected view of Miss Heywood by ordinary mortals. The paper showed a cricket, then a patch of Miss Heywood as it would be seen by a cricket. Under the actress' picture ran the caption: "And this is Anne Heywood—as we see her. If you see more than the picture shows you'd better run to an oculist." For Kadar's views on this kind of Party journalism, see text.

between the Rakosi and Nagy factions of the Party had ripped apart the whole structure of Hungarian Communism. In the Spring of 1955 Rakosi sought to put an end to this turmoil by ousting his rival from the Premiership, replacing him with one of his own henchmen, Andras Hegedus. Nagy was condemned for "right-wing deviation" and his policies were savagely attacked. Rigid conformity was once again the official order of the day.

But conformity could not be enforced without the use of Stalinist terror, then officially rejected by the new Kremlin leaders. The attempt to return to conformity therefore

failed, for it provoked Rakosi's opponents to renewed daring in calling the dictator's bluff. In the forefront of this struggle were the intellectuals, many of them Party members. They continued to publish rebellious articles, poems and short stories in *Irodalmi Ujsag*. They were also able to voice their opinions indirectly in publications such as the weeklies *Beke es Szabadsag* (Peace and Freedom), *Muvelt Nep* and *Hetfoi Hirlap* (Monday News) which, while shunning a direct assault on the Party's positions, helped weaken them by courageous descriptions of real situations. The official Party organs, including *Szabad Nep*, of course adhered to the new line.*

This schizophrenia of the press—with the Party clique in power almost totally ignoring the gathering storm and the unofficial papers devoting ever more space to an expression of the new climate—continued into Gero's short-lived reign in the summer and autumn of last year. On September 29, 1956, for instance, at a time when the whole country was astir to the fiery debates of the Petofi Circle and reading outright denunciations of Communist tyranny, *Szabad Nep* still kept its eyes glued to the straight Party line. Its front page that day featured a leading article on the People's Army, and reports on crop collection contests, on "Processing Powdered Coal Reserves," and on People's Army Day. Inside there were items headed: "Lessons of the Agricultural Exhibition," "Signs of Schematism in the Argument on the Wage System," "Five Days of the Poznan Trial: Murderers and Plunderers in Court," and "Resolution of the Plenary Session of the National Council of Trade Unions on the Cultural-Educational Works of Trade Unions." Only one article timorously hinted at the spirit of the ferment; this was a review of impressions gained by Zoltan Vas** in the course of a trip to Yugoslavia.

During the Revolt

THE TRIUMPH of the "liberals" in the revolutionary period between October 23 and November 4 led to a completely new era in Hungarian journalism. The metamorphosis was so thorough that few of the journalistic landmarks of the previous period survived, despite the desperate attempts by some editorial staffs to maintain some semblance of continuity. Even the Party paper, *Szabad Nep*, succumbed to this holocaust. It ceased in actual

* For a selection of "rebellious" writing before the Revolt see: "What A Communist Must Believe From Morning To Night" by G. Paloczi-Horvath, reprinted from *Irodalmi Ujsag*, August 4, 1956 in this magazine's October 1956 issue, pp. 39-40; "Delicate Questions" by Judit Mariassy, also from *Irodalmi Ujsag* of the same date and reprinted in the October issue, pp. 41-42. In the same number of this magazine, pp. 51-52, there are also excerpts from articles written by Gyula Hay and Geza Losonczy in *Irodalmi Ujsag* and *Muvelt Nep*. For the September 22 disclosure in *Irodalmi Ujsag* of the proceedings at the Writers' Union which led to the election of a new, rebel-filled leadership, see the November issue, pp. 38-40. For the lively discussion of the press by the Petofi Circle and the regime's reactions to them, see the August issue, pp. 38-42. See also "Mudville" by Karoly Jobbagy from *Csillag*, April 1956, in the June 1956 issue, p. 13, and the article "Revolt of the Intellectuals" in the same number.

** Vas was appointed head of a government committee for food supply by Imre Nagy on October 27; he has not been heard of since.



This photo was part of a short feature article entitled "Visit To The Scene Of The Crime," in *Erdekes Ujsag* (Budapest), April 20, 1957. The two young men were said to have shot and killed a police major on January 12; a week later they allegedly robbed and murdered two old women. The article also claimed that the two young men planned to blow up a building of the Ministry of the Interior. The feature and picture are characteristic of the current attempt to link Freedom Fighters with common criminals.

fact to be the organ of the disintegrating Communist Party and instead became the official daily of the Nagy Government; on November 3, it changed its name to *Nepszabadsag* (People's Freedom).

As new associations and parties emerged in the brief interlude of relative freedom, so did many new publications; as the Rakosi Stalinists were kicked out of key positions throughout the country, so were they ousted from editorial staffs in established papers. Both *Szabad Nep* and *Magyar Nemzet* were thus taken over by dissident staff members who dislodged their erstwhile colleagues from the management.

All papers, new as well as the old, differed enormously in format and content from the previous products. Almost overnight a dull, pompous, heavily-censored press changed into an exciting and inspiring journalistic achievement. While fighting raged in the streets of Budapest scores of Hungary's best writers, including many Communists, dedicated themselves to the national cause with a passionate courage rarely matched in history. Disregarding all personal danger in the face of overwhelming Soviet force, these writers chose to immortalize the upsurge of self-liberation in the evident hope that, should the Revolt fail, future generations should be inspired by it.

The outburst of pent-up emotions took a variety of forms, many of which would normally have been expressed outside

the journalistic medium. This was so because Premier Imre Nagy, instead of leading, was led—by a people inspired by its intellectuals. He was apparently a well-meaning but irresolute personality who proved to be incapable of rising above the situation. His decisions were often too late in coming and his declarations failed to capture the popular spirit of the hour. It was the press which directed, prodded and inspired. It was the press which either formulated or voiced cogent programs and appealed to the people in their own language. It was the press which, in editions of two or, at most, four pages, gave meaning to the people's self-sacrifice.

"Magyar Nemzet"

According to many refugees, the most widely read and the most influential daily of the Revolt was *Magyar Nemzet*, which had played so important a role in the ferment of the intellectuals. Far less cautious than its rival, *Szabad Nep*, it endorsed the revolutionary movement as it developed right from the beginning. On October 25, the dawn of the new freedom, it published declarations by Zoltan Tildy, a former President of Hungary and one of the leaders of the Smallholders' party only recently released from prison, and another by Imre Nagy, whose elevation to the Premiership the paper celebrated in a lead article.

The following day the paper ran a stirring article entitled "Wave, Hungarian Flags!" and carried a proclamation asking for the immediate release of all political prisoners. On October 30, an enlarged edition of the paper carried a lead editorial entitled "Let Us Not Endanger the Life of the Fatherland," asking for restraint to avoid provoking the Soviets; but in the same issue *Magyar Nemzet* answered an attack on the revolutionary movement printed in Moscow's *Pravda*. On the last day of the month the paper summarized its stand and the meaning of current events in a lead article headed "We Are Making World History." In a courageously outspoken piece called "Treachery Will Be Exposed," Gyula Hay, one of the most outspoken of the Communist rebels (and now imprisoned by Kadar), lashed out at a system which, in the name of "Socialism," was set up to distort truth: "Communists," he said, "have been enticed to follow the wrong course in their search for Socialism."

On November 1, the paper printed a sub-title to its name, reading "Founded by Sandor Petho." A monarchist, and firmly courageously anti-Nazi, Petho was a leading figure of prewar Hungarian journalism. The most significant article in that issue, "The Hungarian People Want a Neutral Country" was written by Bela Kovacs, former Secretary-General of the Smallholders' party, long a foe of the Communists and imprisoned by the Soviets, who had been selected as Minister of Agriculture in the Nagy government of October 27. As if to underline its position in the front line of the fight for further freedom, the paper published an editorial with a heading—"Heroism Finally Rewarded in Hungary"—taken from a British paper, as well as an interview with the then recently liberated Cardinal Mindszenty.

The November 3 issue of the paper is heavy with forebodings of the tragic end that was to come the following

day. It reported suspicious Soviet troop movements and restated Hungary's neutrality. At the same time it protested Soviet accusations that the Freedom Fighters were nothing but a mob. One of the most moving documents of the Revolt, the Hungarian writers' appeal for help from their colleagues in the free world, was also published in this number.*

"Szabad Nep" and "Nepszava"

THE MOUTHPIECE OF the Nagy government, *Szabad Nep*, fully reflected the indecision of the new leader. It was constantly torn between desires to placate the people on the one hand and to restrict them on the other. As late as October 28 the paper decried "Those Who Bring Disgrace to the Hungarian Cause" in an article thus headed, and the following day it tried to convince the Freedom Fighters that they had already attained all their goals and should lay down their arms.

Nepszava, the "Central Organ of the Hungarian Trade Unions" until November 1, became that day the "Central

* For the last appeal to the free world by the Writers' Union see "The Revolt in Hungary," the December 1956 issue of this magazine, p. 83. This was the last statement to be broadcast by Budapest Radio before the Soviets took over the station and was followed by a desperate S.O.S.



"This 'home' is somewhat overcrowded." The remark and the photo were part of an article entitled "Like Prisoners Of War" in *Erdekes Ujsag* of April 27, 1957. The article shed crocodile tears about the fate of Hungarian refugees in Western countries.



"History of the Stocking"

These three pictures were part of a series of six showing the evolution of the stocking. Each photo and period was given a stanza. The lines dedicated to the pictures reproduced here are (left to right): "One look at these and the poor male is done for . . . our grandmothers wore them riding their bicycles"; (Center) "Nylon is the present fad, heightens the beauty . . . But only a leg like this will do it justice"; (Right) "They are adorned with shiny buttons and golden thread . . . If you win at the lottery why don't you try it on yourself?"

This flimsy excuse for a copious display of bare legs appeared in *Erdekes Ujsag* (Budapest), April 4, 1957.

Organ of the Social Democratic Party," a party reconstituted during the Revolt. The lead article of the first new edition was by Anna Kethly, the famous Socialist leader, long held in prison by Rakosi (and now living in the West). She paid tribute to the heroes of the uprising but warned that the new party must be vigilant lest counterrevolutionaries exploit the crisis for their own nefarious ends. The last issue of the paper appeared on November 3. After the Revolt was crushed it changed its title to *Nepakarat* (People's Will) and adopted the subtitle of "Organ of the National Federation of Free Hungarian Trade Unions," a designation evidently intended by Kadar to create the illusion of an independent trade union movement in the country.

Youth Papers

There had been only one daily for youth—*Szabad Ifjúság* (Free Youth)—before the outbreak of the Revolt. It was in the customary, didactic, orthodox pattern of Party papers, though it assumed a somewhat livelier form as ferment mounted in the country in the summer and autumn. This belated attempt to deal with real problems of the young did not save the paper; the last issue was on October 23. In subsequent days four new dailies took its place: *Magyar Ifjúság* (Hungarian Youth), *Magyar Jövő* (Hungarian Future), *Egyetemi Ifjúság* (University Youth), and *Igazság* (Truth). All four newspapers were in the vanguard of the popular movement, the first three following a "revisionist" Titoist line, and *Igazság* being openly non-Communist.

Characteristic of this forthright stand were the headings of the November 3 *Magyar Ifjúság*: "We Protest the

Influx of New Soviet Troops into the Country"; "The Hungarian Question as Discussed by the UN"; "Latest News on Russian Troop Movements"; "Unconfirmed News Which Will Cause Relief: UN Committee in Hungary?" (this was nothing but wishful delusion; the item described how a UN committee had arrived in the country to observe events and was giving "frequent reports" to UN headquarters); "Priests Victim of Street Fighting"; "The Whole World Is Helping Us"; "The Romanian Radio Is Slandering Us." This same issue also contained an interview with a group of revolutionaries, a picture of the grave of an old man and his granddaughter "not yet ten" whose "blood has blessed our Revolution," and news from abroad showing sympathy for the insurgents.

"Magyar Honved" and "Irodalmi Ujsag"

One of the most interesting papers of the Revolt was *Magyar Honved* (Hungarian Soldier), the organ of the revolutionary armed forces. Its endorsement of the insurgents was dramatized in the sub-title it chose, "Magyar, be staunchly faithful to your country," taken from a famous poem by Mihaly Vorosmarty, an outstanding poet of the 19th century. On November 1 it displayed a picture of Cardinal Mindszenty on its front page showing the Church leader in the company of the Freedom Fighters who had liberated him. It also carried an article paying tribute to the dead among the Freedom Fighters and another headed "The Crimes of the Rakosi-Gero Clique Must Be Made Public." It demanded that the former dictator be surrendered by the Soviet Union "to stand trial for his crimes." Like *Magyar Ifjúság*, it decried the "Unworthy Reaction to the Hungarian Revolution from Romania and Czechoslovakia" and ran an article entitled "The World

Looks with Admiration to the Courageous Hungarian People."

But the most stirring document of the Revolt was the one issue of *Irodalmi Ujsag*, dated November 2. The greatest contemporary Hungarian writers, many now in prison, contributed to this number. Each expressed his views with courage, but also with restraint and a calm solemnity befitting the hour. (For excerpts see p. 10.)

After the Revolt

AFTER THE SECOND Soviet intervention on November 4, all newspapers which were born in the Revolt were immediately suppressed. Yet the *status quo ante* could not be reimposed, and has not been reimposed to this day.

In the first weeks of Kadar's rule his control over the country was wholly artificial, for he had no organization of his own and had to depend almost entirely on the presence of Soviet tanks and troops. In these early days



of continued fighting, strikes, sabotage, mass escape and massive deportations, the insurgents, though deprived of their press, continued to publish pamphlets and proclamations. But even in the Kadar-controlled press the voice of the people was not totally muffled. The new clique had to communicate its thoughts and orders to the people; it was indeed at first forced to bargain with them.

In those early post-revolutionary days supplies hardly moved, workers either refused to return to their jobs or could not do so because of lack of transportation. In these circumstances the only two dailies which regularly appeared in November were *Nepszabadsag* (formerly *Szabad Nep* and once again the organ of the Party), and *Nepakarat* (formerly *Nepszava* (People's Voice) and in both cases the mouthpiece of the regime-dominated trade unions). The other newspapers and magazines started to reappear one by one in the following weeks, many not until January or February and some as late as Spring. A number of publications have not yet been reconstituted and may never be; on the other hand entirely new publications have been launched.

Much that was written in November dealt with the immediate problems of restoring "order," resuming production, securing food and reorganizing essential services. Politically, the stand was relatively mild and objective. The revolution was still a revolution and Freedom Fighters were so designated; strikes were said to be illegal yet psychologically understandable. It was then still admitted that the whole Hungarian nation had taken to the barricades and that the majority loathed the regime they had had to live under for a decade. It was then conceded, for instance, that many youngsters were "reactionaries"—that is, that they had not been won over for the new order. But there were already then inklings of things to come and threats mingled with entreaties. Some of the "Orders of the Day" were openly issued by the Soviet Commanders in the country and the new cynicism, so startlingly at variance with the stark honesty of the heroic days, was highlighted in an article by Ferenc Munnich, head of the armed forces and second only to Kadar, who wrote about the new "adherence to law" at the very moment thousands of Freedom Fighters were being deported from the country.

The press contained many a lie or distortion, but these referred mainly to the situation as it then existed and not, on the whole, to the events and meaning of the Revolt—except, of course, Kadar's own self-justification and the "brotherly" Soviet intervention. On November 20, for example, *Nepszabadsag* urged that "The achievements of the revolution must be preserved," a concept which would now be labelled "revisionist" in spirit and "counter-revolutionary" in intent.

Party Paper—December-January

Towards the end of the year Kadar's power progressively spread throughout the country, the Party grew in strength, production was partially resumed and, simultaneously, political repression grew more acute. The Party paper fully endorsed these tough policies and undeviatingly

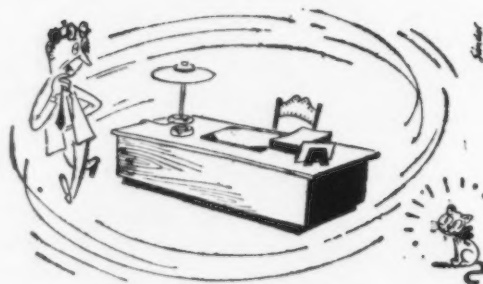
"explained" and extolled them. Recurrent topics were: the release of juvenile prisoners (to show the regime's magnanimity), the misery of refugees abroad (to prove that it was far preferable to ride out the storm at home), the nefarious role of Radio Free Europe (to convince the world that evil-minded conspirators had engineered the uprising), and the general mood of contentment in the country (to create the illusion that Kadar enjoyed real popular backing).

But, just as Kadar is no Rakosi, so his press, despite its orthodoxy on fundamental issues, differs from the previous product. Already in December and January it was clear that Hungarian journalism had entered a new era: The Party newspaper still preserved many of the usual characteristics of a Communist organ, but it also acquired some of the liveliness, the picture-filled attractiveness, even the sensationalism, peculiar to many papers in the West. Even in the interpretation of political news new techniques were tried, such as, for instance, reporting on the mood of the people through the use of imaginary dialogues allegedly overheard in the street. In contrast to the previous stilted seriousness, these features are written in ordinary language, the opinions expressed are not outrageously stereotyped and the "lesson" is not hammered home in unending thuds of Party doctrine. The press still behaves as if people have to be "educated," but it no longer forgets that they can be bored.

Certain aspects of pre-Revolt journalism have disappeared. The long articles on agricultural, industrial and "technical" innovations; the discussions of production methods; and the theoretical, doctrinal commentaries, are missing at this time. On the other hand, feeling stronger and taking its cue from Moscow, the Kadar regime now orders a thorough re-writing of the history of the Revolt. Unabashed by its own first appraisal, *Nepszabadsag* now invariably describes the Revolt as a counterrevolution, engineered from abroad, led by Arrow-Cross terrorists, supported first by a vacillating then a "traitorous" Imre Nagy. Whereas previously prominent defectors had not been mentioned—in the probable hope that they would return and lend prestige to the new administration—attacks against them later began in earnest. On December 12, for instance *Nepszabadsag* raged at Stalin-prize-winner Tamas Aczel, a Communist poet who had been one of the leaders of the writers' rebellion, in an article entitled "From Illatos ("Smelly") Street to *The New York Times*" (which interviewed Aczel after his escape).

As for foreign policy coverage, the Party paper tried at first to keep up the appearance of truthfulness by diluting outright lies with some objectivity. Particularly in the immediate post-Revolt period the crucial developments in Poland were covered fairly fully and far more moderately than, say, in Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union. But the most startling departure from routine foreign news coverage was the new attitude toward the USSR. In those days the current fawning servility had not yet been adopted. Aware that nearly all Hungarians felt nothing but hatred for their "liberators," and confronted with the revelations of Soviet exploitation so copiously aired during the uprising, the government decided that it had to admit,

ÍRÓÉKNÁL



A macska: Már kerülgeti...

"Writers' Home": "He's getting around to it." The reference is to the writers' refusal to cooperate with the Kadar regime.

Nepszabadsag (Budapest), April 20, 1957

at least temporarily, that "errors" had marred relations in the past. (For an example of this attitude, see excerpts from *Nepszabadsag*, December 16—"Are We Losing on Soviet-Hungarian Trade?" p. 11.)

On the lighter, non-political plane, a major innovation was the introduction of colorful, often blood-curdling, crime reports. Details which would never have been countenanced in the straight-laced Party press of yore—and are still barred from such papers in all the other Communist-run countries except Poland—now find their way into these accounts. On December 24, for instance, *Nepszabadsag* reported at great length on the arrest of a man caught selling pornographic pictures.

Another novelty is the greatly expanded scope of advertisements, previously devoted almost exclusively to informing readers of the availability of a particular kind of merchandise in a particular State-owned store. The ads are now spread over several pages of each issue and, for the first time, there are also classified ads. Before the Revolt only *Magyar Nemzet* and the afternoon tabloid *Esti Budapest* carried a few such notices.

Towards the end of 1956 these ads and announcements called upon workers to return to their places of work, informed readers about such things as openings of new night clubs, theaters, etc., and included inquiries about lost items. Typical of the times was the great number of "apartment wanted" notices, the ads by gravestone cutters, and photographs of persons who had disappeared.

The new trend also included a non-political crossword puzzle in the Party's daily, as well as displays of fashion pictures for women and, lo and behold, even non-political jokes. Many of these were (and still are) about drunks, so that from the general tenor of these sallies one would be apt to believe that the country was in a perpetual state of sodden euphoria. Even more startling is the fact that many of the quips are of a decidedly erotic nature, some accompanied by pictures of women in scant attire. They are published in a column called "Jokes from Abroad." Also from abroad came pictures and stories of such figures

as actresses Marilyn Monroe, Kim Novak, Susan Hayward and Grace Kelly—all in the official organ of the Hungarian Communist Party!

The new direction of the Party press reached a milestone in the publication of a fat 32-page issue of *Nepszabadsag* dedicated to celebrating—not May Day nor Soviet-Hungarian Friendship nor “Liberation”—but Christmas! *Szabad Nep* had always ignored the religious aspects of the day. The new Party paper did precisely the opposite. It featured a reproduction of the “Three Kings” by Velasquez, ran an article on religious customs at Yuletide and offered its readers a crossword puzzle in the form of a Christmas tree. The literary supplement was filled with works by foreign or long-deceased Hungarian writers, and some contributions by unknown contemporaries. One story, by Ferenc Mora, was entitled “The Dressing Of Little Jesus.” The only Soviet effort was, characteristically enough, an excerpt from Ilya Ehrenburg’s controversial novel, “The Thaw.”

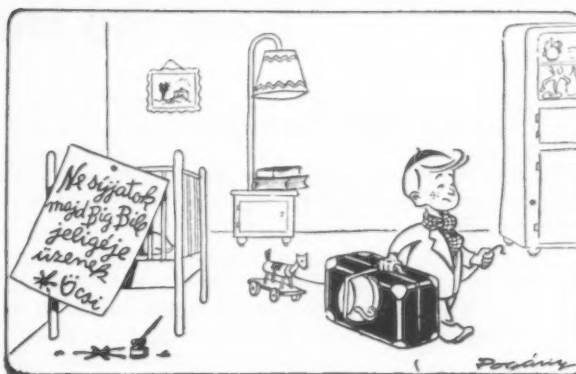
Beginning the following month a new and tragic kind of news coverage makes its appearance. This is the account of trials, of prison sentences and death penalties meted out to so-called counterrevolutionaries. Many of the vulgar fulminations which in Rakosi’s days were reserved for the West are now heaped upon these heroes. Daily more and more people are being accused of “treason,” “murder,” “counterrevolutionary activity,” etc. An ever greater number of intellectuals are now being attacked by name, some while awaiting trial in prison. Finally, in January, the heightened harshness engulfed the workers’ councils, and their leaders, ousted from their positions, were denounced as reactionaries in the Party paper.

More Recent Developments in the Party Press

On January 16, in a long speech he addressed to the Party activists, Kadar took official notice of the new “Westernized” trend in Hungarian Party journalism. Castigating it for unwarranted and impermissible straying from its rightful functions and duties, he said: “It is



Drawing from an article in *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), May 16, 1957 entitled “Valiant New Warriors of the Border Outposts.” The article attempts to glorify in a “heroic” style the life of these border guards. The stiff, old-fashioned illustration is meant to show them as brave, honest, patriotic heroes.



Title: “November Routine in Budapest:” Note attached to crib is addressed to parents by youngster obviously defecting to the United States. The note reads: “Don’t cry, I’ll get in touch with you under the code name Big Billy.” The cartoon, which appeared in the December 28, 1956 issue of *Nepszabadsag*, was probably intended to ridicule the flight of the defectors by indicating that only crazy kids would pack up and go.

unworthy of the Party’s central newspaper to carry important statements of the Party and government, important news concerning the international workers’ movement, in small fragments on various pages, while the front page carries murder stories under enormous headlines . . . articles on theory are illustrated with pictures of half-naked dancers. Such tendencies are not for a Party newspaper . . . they are symptomatic of the worst type of bourgeois press.” (See *East Europe*, March, p. 36).

Despite this remonstrance little has changed to this day. The Party paper still functions on two separate levels by being politically orthodox and in every other respect most unorthodox. Weeks after the Kadar speech, on February 10, *Nepszabadsag* showed the picture of a woman in the process of losing her last stitch of clothing. The caption read: “Accident In A Factory.” Neither did the paper abandon some degree of objectivity in reporting little incidents and non-political news from the free world in a column called “From All Parts of the World.” And there is still a marked stress on the sensational in this kind of reportage.

Another part of the newspaper features a section called “From the World of Science and Technology” which, without saying so, actually deals with technical advances in the West, mostly as introduced in the United States. One of these items describes “radar islands”—quite obviously of U. S. origin—but without mentioning any country; another refers to the helicopter service of the Belgian Sabena Airline. This is of course in sharp contrast to what was accepted practice under Rakosi, when all progress was stamped “Made in USSR.” Now, what happens in the Soviet Union is no longer altogether sacrosanct; Soviet films, for instance, were severely criticized in *Nepszabadsag*’s issue of April 10. In non-political matters little space is in fact given to the Soviet Union or the Satellites; much more space is now devoted to the

(Continued on page 13)

From the Hungarian Press

I. During the Revolt:

From IGAZSAG, November 3; excerpts from an article by the well-known, non-Communist writer Laszlo Nemeth, entitled "The Nation and the Writer":

"An event unprecedented in history took place here; an event such has occurred only in a few cases of peasant revolt: a whole nation spontaneously erupted and searched for its leadership in the heat of battle. This shocking fact, the most shattering condemnation of what we have had to suffer, has profoundly changed the relationship between nation and writer. I have deliberately changed the sequence, mentioning the nation first and only then the writer because in these new circumstances it is not the nation which follows the poet but the poet who follows the nation. And I do not think that this is degrading to anyone. For me the situation has been simplified, for if I have never wanted to incite the nation—from which I was isolated for a whole decade—if I have never wanted to plunge it into battle and have, in fact, tried to calm those close to me, I have also never wished—and no decent writer ever would—to abandon the nation in its struggle. If necessary, if the people so decide, I am willing to bury myself with the nation under the ruins of the city."

From HETFOI HIRLAP, October 29; excerpts from an article by Imre F. Joos:

"They don't loot.

"Rain beats on the broken windows, soiled with mud and blood. The panes are also misty as if beclouded with the last sigh of dead young heroes. In one place in the pane there is a gaping hole, as large as a child's head. The bony head of death has peered through it . . .

"Through the gaping holes, shoes, clothing and silver trays peer in pale but proud countenance, as through a mirror. Further on there are watches, their heartbeat silent as that of the dead. Yet the coffee, sugar, shoes, and the silver trays, the lard and flour, remain untouched. (This is at a time when in many homes the last provisions were consumed yesterday).

"In a pastry shop two slices of cake are missing from a tray, but in their place a five forint piece is gleaming . . . Across the street the show-window is empty, as if swept clear by a storm. There is only rubble and a lonely machine gun bullet on a soiled piece of paper. But in the middle of the top shelf there is another sheet of paper torn out of a class notebook on which are scribbled in childish scrawl the words: 'We don't loot. The stuff is with the janitor.'"

From IRODALMI UJSAG, November 2. Excerpts from an article by newspaperman Gyorgy Paloczi-Horvath who spent six years in Communist prisons in connection with the Rajk case:

"Twelve and fourteen-year-old girls and boys attacked

the troop trucks of the AVO [Security Police] henchmen with their bare hands and disarmed Soviet tanks with their gasoline bottles; they turned into warriors in these tragic times. We are convinced that only tyranny can beget such emotions in a nation. This belief is shared by the whole world and that is why our struggle brings encouragement to all.

"To all. The West and the East are on our side. The United States as well as mighty China and India have expressed faith in our cause."

From the same issue of IRODALMI UJSAG; excerpts from an article entitled "Our Friends" by Tibor Dery, leader of the writers' revolt, now imprisoned:

"I pondered at great length before I chose to speak up. When the first gun was fired my heart sank: you, too, are responsible for this, I said to myself. You spoke, incited; how will you account for this to the dead? . . . I cannot accept so simply the fact that there is no revolution without bloodshed. As each bullet was fired I had the insane feeling that it was I who pulled the trigger. I believe in human conscience and I place myself in the dock of the accused.

"The revolution is now victorious but if we give it no time to strengthen itself it might fail again. It might be destroyed by those whose interests demand it. Let us join forces; we have one country, one life. I beseech you, let us join forces, not battle against each other. Let us have faith in the power of the people and in their honor.

"Let there be no more bloodshed.

"Let us honor the dead."

From the same issue of IRODALMI UJSAG; excerpts from "Red Blood in Budapest" by Lajos Tamas, talented young Communist "rebel" poet:

"Once more our song is brave
our hearts are pure and free.

Guns point into our eyes.

Against whom do you aim the guns, Minister of the Interior?

"Red blood in the streets of Budapest,
workers' blood, the blood of the young,
red blood in the streets of Budapest,
Against whom do you aim the guns, Minister of the Interior?

"Whom do you want to shoot, you
cast-off Ministers?

Not the AVH nor the tanks
can save you.

"You, who drove the dagger to our hearts;
We ask you in the people's name: where do you run?
Erno Gero, your hand has long been bloody,
do you know nothing but to kill?

. . . Red blood in the streets of Budapest,
the rain falls, sluicing away at it,

yet blood remains on
stone of Budapest streets."

IRODALMI UJSAG; "To the Hungarians," by Lajos Konya.
The following is the refrain at the end of each verse:

"May God damn them, punish them,
who trampled on our flaming faith
and brought in foreign guns to kill us."

From the same issue of IRODALMI UJSAG; excerpts from
"Tyranny" by Gyula Illyes, one of the greatest of contemporary Hungarian writers, a non-Communist, now believed to have been sent to a lunatic asylum:

"Tyranny is in each kiss of parting also,
In the question each wife asks daily:
When will you be back, darling?
This is tyranny —

"Whether in confessions of prisoners
Or the confessions of lovers,
In the words that should be soft, half-spoken,
Tyranny is the fly in the wine-glass;

"Not in your day and night-dreams only,
Not in the bride-bed only,
But in the yearning, the wanting even,
And in beauty and love even —

"Because tyranny has been there before you.
Love, your love, has been ravished.
Tyranny is there when you lie down together.
It is the darkness in your throat.

"Tyranny is in your food, your drink,
Tyranny is in your mouth, your nose,
You smell it, taste it, warm or cold,
Indoors or out, by night or day.

"Where there is tyranny
There is tyranny only
And all is vain —
Great art or this true litany.

"And when your grave is dug,
When your body is lowered,
It states who you were,
It makes use of your ashes."

II. After the Revolt:

From NEPSZABADSAG, December 5, 1956:

"Women marched along the streets of Budapest yesterday. Smaller groups gathered at various points, the largest in the Square of Heroes. Some of them marched from there to the American Legation.

"The purpose of this demonstration, as indicated by the leaflets calling for it, was to appeal to the relatives of those who perished in the fighting, to pay homage to the memory of the dead by placing flowers and candles on their graves. It may be assumed that most of the women joined the demonstration for this purpose.

"And yet . . . to organize a demonstration now, when the wounds are still fresh and smarting and fighting subsided only a few weeks ago . . . does not seem to be the proper way to express deep, sincere, human sentiments.

"And no true cause is served by it. . . . Because of Rakosi's crimes rotten seeds mingled with the good. There are hostile elements who will use the sentiments of decent, well-meaning people against the interests of the nation. This is what happened yesterday. Women were pushed into the foreground by people who do not dare confess their true aims.

"For isn't it quite obvious that the creation of confusion, the attempt to stop the turning of the wheel, could not possibly serve the interests of the people? Who benefits from a stirring up of barely abated passions, by the artificial disturbance of the settling-down process? Those who are anxious to enjoy a better life? Certainly not. For this aim requires that people should work, in a quiet atmosphere. Those who want the country's independence? Indeed not. For the stirring up of excitement merely prevents the re-establishment of order, the condition under which Soviet troops might leave the country. . . ."

From NEPSZABADSAG, December 16:

"[Slight injustices] have been exploited by counterrevolutionary elements in order to stir up resentment against the Soviet Union. False ideas also gained ground because, in the exchange of currency outside the exchange of goods, the forint-ruble rate was not set according to the real purchasing value . . . one ruble cost 2.93 forint but the actual purchasing power of the ruble was, at best, 1.5 forint. The Hungarian traveller to the Soviet Union therefore got only half the value for his forint, whereas the Soviet visitor in Hungary . . . received double his money's worth. But let us look for a moment at the amount of the cash turnover. In one year the exchange of currencies outside of exchanges of goods amounted to approximately 120 million foreign-exchange forint; this covered the expense of diplomats, scholarship-winning students, and travellers to and from the Soviet Union. We lost about 50 to 60 million foreign-exchange forint this way. This is however only 15 to 20 percent of our profits from the exchange of goods. The Soviet government has come to an agreement with the Hungarian government, and the exchange rate between the ruble and the forint has been altered, retroactive to January 1, 1956.

"Summing up: we have to admit that the price policy governing Hungarian-Soviet foreign trade is advantageous to us. The lesson is that the government must openly discuss even the most delicate economic problems because this is the only way of refuting false rumors and slander; and this is the only policy conducive to an atmosphere of trust in the government."

From NEPSZABADSAG, December 25, 1956; excerpts from a satirical sketch:

". . . Now the poor man is faced with a tremendous problem. He has been invited to the home of one of his colleagues, the Karaszes, for a cup of coffee. You would think that this was a simple matter, but that is not the case.

Because look at all the circumstances and possibilities; one must add up everything and decide what could be good and what could be bad.

"Karasz used to be a Party member—and if one goes to his house this might be good and then again it might be bad—but in 1951 he was ousted—and this too could be either good or bad. Further, Karasz' mother-in-law speaks Russian fluently, but on the other hand his nephew defected last week—again the tripping question as to how to evaluate all this: could be good or bad. Karasz knows many a reactionary joke, but as against this he recently said that there were many signs of a counterrevolution in Hungary—same problem as above. Then again, Mrs. Karasz plays bridge, yet a second cousin of hers is a member of the Police—it is impossible to tell in advance who might object to these facts—so how tell whether this is good or bad? In short, is it wise nowadays to drink a cup of coffee at the Karasz home?

"Well, the problem is there. But we need not worry about our friend, he'll find the solution. All he has to do is to find out where the power lies and right away he will know that justice is there, too."

From NEPSZABADSAG, January 1; the article pokes fun at what used to be SZABAD NEP's treatment of the New Year's celebrations:

"Our great cause: New Year's Eve.

"Enthusiasm is spreading throughout the country. Several tens of thousands of people in cities, villages, factories and farms welcomed with deep gratification and great satisfaction the resolutions which, taking into account an old wish of workers, working peasants and the intelligentsia, ordered that New Year's eve be held this year on December 31, and that the New Year begin with January 1. This wise and unshakable provision has opened up a new era in our history.

"The working people are steadily advancing on the road to New Year's eve. Our achievements are well-known: we enumerated them in our lead article in yesterday's issue. Our task remains to point out what is still to be done. . . .

"Our people do not want suckling pigs, chimney sweeps or New Year's wishes: our people want to hear about tasks of rallying shoulder to shoulder, in absolute unity.

"What, then, is the most urgent, the most timely task? Everyone knows that it is fulfilling the Plan, or rather, over-fulfilling it, raising work productivity, saving materials, reducing the cost of production, etc. . . .

"But today, on New Year's eve, the most important thing is sowing, sowing and sowing! Is it that we do not have enough fields to sow? Is it that we do not have the seeds? The Machine Tractor Stations have plenty of snow-plows. Every minute is precious, let everyone start sowing immediately. Let us increase whatever we can.

"This is the greatest lesson of today's New Year's eve!"

From NEPSZABADSAG, April 14; excerpts from an article reporting on a party given in honor of Security Police men

who had returned to Hungary after having fled for their lives in the Revolt:

"Here are former AVH [Security Police] men from the rural areas, sorely neglected so far despite the fact that many of them were tortured and shed their blood, thus proving their loyalty to the people's State. Laszlo Csurke, AVH captain, could be, and perhaps will be, chief witness at the trial of the counterrevolutionary bandits of Miskolc. He stood his ground heroically, although the order to fire never came. He fired, yes he did fire, at the murderers, the counterrevolutionists, who had lost their human decency. He fired at them, they who among others castrated his best friend, Istvan Mohai. Mohai died of his wounds. Laszlo Csurke was also wounded and they later tried to hang him. Comrade Csurke and many of the heroes present ask why we don't show up the counterrevolutionaries by restoring the honor of the former Security Police? Why do we have to talk only secretly of the most loyal groups of the State Police, who acted so heroically during the counterrevolution? They are right. It is high time that we restore the honor of the State Police organs. . . ."



Photo displayed in the center of the front page of the special Christmas Day, 1956, issue of *Nepszabadsag*. The Christmas-tree-and-girl image, so uncharacteristic of a Communist Party publication, was part of a lead article entitled "Festival of Peace."

(Continued from page 9)

countries of the Near and Far East. Foreign jokes and anecdotes which had always been reproduced by *Szabad Nep* straight from the Soviet cartoon-magazine *Krokodil* now come from the Western press, often with full and correct attributions. On March 31, in fact, *Nepszabadsag* assailed its predecessor for having been so narrowly dogmatic that it had refused to discuss Hamlet when the play was being performed in Budapest.

With respect to the political coverage, however, the tendency to distort the events of the Revolt has now grown into a veritable torrent of abuse designed to "prove" that the "counterrevolutionaries," led by Western Fascist imperialists, tricked the country into a suicidal movement for the restoration of feudalism. Though blatant pro-Soviet propaganda *per se* has not been resumed, the theme of "eternal friendship" for the USSR has now become the main peg for a daily array of explanatory or exhortative articles. Also, the absolute necessity to back the Kadar regime in all respects, and to reassert Party unity and preeminence, is now a constantly recurring topic.

Many of the main articles are being written by unpopular Communist literary wheelhorses—writers like Tibor Barabas, Lajos Mesterhazi, Bela Illes, Erno Urban—some of whom were ejected from the Writers' Union leadership in the tempestuous session before the Revolt. But even they cannot all be termed straight Stalinists. Mesterhazi and Urban, for instance, reportedly took part in the early phases of the literary ferment in Spring last year; they apparently refused to follow their more liberal comrades in subsequent developments but they are of a different breed than, say, Jozsef Revai, the fanatic "Stalinist" Party theoretician. They, and the unknowns who have taken over management of the Party newspaper, apparently do not wish to revert blindly to past journalistic practices. Less doctrinaire than their predecessors, they seem to feel that Party members need not always read tedious articles replete with slogans. Articles on labor competitions, for instance, are now a rarity. And though, starting in April, ideological pieces have reappeared, they are shorter and less unrealistic than were similar articles before the October days.

Other Journals and Periodicals

The Writers' Union has been dissolved and its official organ, *Irodalmi Ujsag*, now appears, under new management, as *Elet es Irodalom* (Life and Literature). Unlike other papers, this literary magazine has become less interesting and less colorful. It is now an integral part of the sycophancy; having lost its best contributors, its literary standard is mediocre. The March 29 issue contained the following:

¶A large photo on the front page showing the Soviet Liberation Monument in Budapest with, underneath it, a poem by Soviet writer Yaroslav Smelyakov telling how "In November 1956 a plant Party activists' meeting was held in the unheated workers' club in Csepel; Imre Bagi, an old worker, suggested that in protest against the damage done to the Soviet Liberation Monument by Fascists (during



Title: "Wow, Isn't She Pretty." Caption: "This young typist . . . is considered the prettiest girl in France."

Nepszabadsag (Budapest), December 25, 1956

the Revolt) all those present stand up in silence to honor the memory of Soviet soldiers who died in the battle of Budapest 1944-45."

¶A lead article by Bela Illes, Soviet Secret Police Colonel and well-known Communist writer. It is an interview with Arpad Szakasits, former President of the Republic, only recently released from prison, who has thrown in his lot with Kadar.

¶An article by the teacher of the excellent journalist Pal Ignatus, who fled to the West, calling upon him to return home.

Though *Csillag*, the most sophisticated journal of pre-revolutionary days—and like *Irodalmi Ujsag* published by the now defunct Writers' Union—has not reappeared, *Nagyvilag* (Big World), which made its debut shortly before the uprising, is now again being published. This monthly keeps its readers posted on cultural developments abroad, especially in the free world. It has run short stories and poems by Thomas Mann, Valery, Longfellow, Saroyan and Graham Greene.

The one magazine which seems to have broken most sharply with the past is the new *Magyar Filozofiai Szemle* (Hungarian Philosophical Review), which partly replaces the former topmost scientific publication under regime aegis, *Tarsadalmi Szemle* (Social Review). To a large extent the new publication has freed itself from Marxist-Leninist dogmatism, in the old days the only permitted



"The little Pioneer makes friends with a Soviet Officer."
Nepszabadsag (Budapest), April 6, 1957

approach to philosophy, economics or sociology. The monthly deals with Western philosophy, psychology, aesthetics, etc., with remarkable detachment, only occasionally reverting to Party doctrine.

The official organ of the pre-revolutionary Communist Youth Organization DISZ, *Szabad Ifjusag*, has been discontinued, and for good reasons, for no youth has ever wanted to read it and the battle-hardened youngsters of present-day Hungary could least of all be expected willingly to subscribe to it. The paper which took its place under Kadar is *Magyar Ifjusag*, quite a different product. This daily is not soaked in Party clichés, but in sex and sensationalism. More perhaps than any other current publication its pages are adorned with photos of semi-nude girls in alluring poses and equally provocative captions. On March 9, for instance, a bathing beauty was displayed; underneath the picture, were the following remarks: "Pretty, isn't it? Unfortunately details can be furnished only about the bathing suit." A week before, the paper had pictures of Marilyn Monroe, one of another young lady called "Pony-tailed madonna," and an article about Picasso's model. All this is specifically directed at youngsters under Party auspices.

Longer pieces in the youth journal are no less sex-involved in style and contents. On March 30 there appeared what can only be termed an erotic short story about young boys and girls swimming in the nude, with particular attention focussed on scenes of dressing and undressing. There are also some articles with political overtones—such as, for instance, one titled "I Was A Revolutionary," besmirching the Freedom Fighters—but

the overwhelming part of this daily is devoted to what might be called "amusement."

Illustrated magazines have adopted the same flashy style, the same concern for the sensational, the erotic, the seamy side of life. And like the youth daily, these publications, foremost among them *Nok Lapja* (Women's Journal) and *Erdekes Ujsag* (Journal of Interest), often speak in the slangy language of Budapest's back streets. Under Rakosi this undignified form of realism was of course proscribed as unbefitting the emancipated proletarian State.

Finally, as before the Revolt, there is now a weekly addressed exclusively to Hungarians living abroad. But whereas in the past *Hirek Magyarorszagbol* (News from Hungary) extolled Communist achievements in flowery prose and awkward hyperboles, the present weekly publication, *Magyar Hirek* (Hungarian News), refrains from overt propaganda and actually tries to create an apolitical aura. It deals on the whole with news of Hungarian food, sports, fashions, and other such non-political topics of nostalgic interest.

* * *

In short, then, the Hungarian press today is far from being a free press. It has little in common with the superb product put out by the revolutionaries in the few days when Party supervision and censorship had been eliminated. But neither is it comparable to the kind of journalism fostered by Rakosi. It is different from the "normal" Communist press in that much of its material is frankly meant to entertain rather than teach and indoctrinate. It is also unlike the kind of journalism that developed in Hungary in the period of ferment in that it is not the carrier of politically destructive germs. Those writers who were at the center of the vortex are now dead, abroad, in prison, or engaged in one of the most remarkable and one of the longest unofficial, undeclared literary strikes that has ever taken place.

Kadar is well aware of the dangers of intellectual dissent and does not tolerate it. What he does permit, though with reservations, is a press whose main function appears to be that of escapism—a safety valve in a highly explosive situation. Kadar has objected to the sensationalism that characterizes the new kind of journalism, including the Party's own paper. The fact that so far nothing has happened indicates that the Party Secretary either did not speak in earnest—which is probable since escapism is helpful for the Party—or that he is unable to enforce his orders—which is also possible in view of the fact that few Communist writers are prepared to cooperate with the regime. Be that as it may, it can be surmised that, if Kadar should ever gain substantial additional strength, the present character of Hungarian journalism will change. In that sense it is now a press in a transitional stage.

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Major Hungarian Publications

I. Dailies

Pre-Revolt	During Revolt	After Revolt	Published by	Description	Circulation
<i>Szabad Nep</i> (Free People)	November 2 becomes <i>Nepszabadsag</i> (People's Freedom)	<i>Nepszabadsag</i>	Before Revolt by Hungarian Workers' Party, now Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	Official Party Organ	Pre-Revolt 800,000, Post-Revolt 600,000
<i>Nepszava</i> (People's Voice)	<i>Nepszava</i>	<i>Nepakarat</i> (People's Will)	National Association of Trade Unions	Official organ of trade unions	Now 200,000
<i>Magyar Nemzet</i> (Hungarian Nation)	<i>Magyar Nemzet</i>	Discontinued	Patriotic People's Front	Intellectuals' paper	Not available
<i>Esti Budapest</i> (Evening Budapest)	Did not appear	<i>Esti Hirlap</i> (Evening Journal)	"Independent Political Daily"	Afternoon Communist tabloid	Not available
<i>Szabad Ifjusag</i> (Free Youth)	<i>Magyar Ifjusag</i> (Hungarian Youth)	<i>Magyar Ifjusag</i>	Hungarian Youth Organization (DISZ); Revolutionary Council of Young Workers (in Revolt); KISZ, Kadar Youth Organization	Regime's daily for youth; after the Revolt has become a weekly	150,000 after Revolt
<i>Nepsport</i> (People's Sports)	Did not appear	<i>Sportujsag</i> and after <i>Nepsport</i>	Sports Journal and Publishing Company	Comparatively free of propaganda	85,000 after Revolt
<i>Honved Ujsag</i> (Army Paper)	<i>Magyar Honved</i> (Hungarian Soldier)	<i>Magyar Honved</i>	Before the Revolt by Army Journal and Publishing Company; during the Revolt by the Revolutionary Army; afterwards again by Army Journal and Publishing Company	Before and after the Revolt available only for troops; during the uprising it spoke for the soldiers who joined the Revolt	Not available

II. Revolutionary Dailies

.....	<i>Magyar Jovo</i> (Hungarian Future)	.....	University students	Intellectual, calling for a "Revisionist" Communism	Not available
.....	<i>Igazsag</i> (Truth)	.....	Hungarian Revolutionary Youth	Intellectual in tone, non-Communist	Not available
.....	<i>Valosag</i> (Reality)	.....	Not stated	Democratic, non-Communist	Not available
.....	<i>Magyar Vilag</i> (Hungarian World)	.....	"Independent Political Daily"	Democratic, non-Communist	Not available
.....	<i>Magyar Fuggetlenseg</i> (Hungarian Independence)	.....	Hungarian National Revolutionary Council	Democratic	Not available

III. Weeklies and Picture Magazines

Pre-Revolt	During Revolt	After Revolt	Published by	Description	Circulation
<i>Hetfoi Hirlap</i> (Monday Journal)	<i>Hetfoi Hirlap</i>	<i>Hetfoi Hirlap</i>	State Journal Publishing Company	"Revisionist" in spirit during and before Revolt; now Kadar-controlled	55,000, Pre- and Post-Revolt
<i>Szabad Fold</i> (Free Soil)	Discontinued	<i>Szabad Fold</i>	State Journal Publishing Company	Communist agricultural paper for the peasantry	397,000 after Revolt
<i>Ludas Matyi</i> (Ludas Matyi is a name)	Discontinued	<i>Ludas Matyi</i>	State Journal Publishing Company	The only Communist humor magazine with cartoons	301,000 after Revolt
<i>Beke es Szabadsag</i> (Peace and Freedom)	Discontinued	<i>Erdekes Ujsag</i> (Journal of Interest)	State Journal Publishing Company	Very popular picture magazine, critical of regime before Revolt	172,000 after Revolt
<i>Nok Lapja</i> (Women's Journal)	Discontinued	<i>Nok Lapja</i>	Hungarian Women's Democratic Association	Communist picture magazine for women and young people	279,000 after Revolt
<i>Irodalmi Ujsag</i> (Literary Journal)	<i>Irodalmi Ujsag</i>	<i>Elet es Irodalom</i> (Life and Literature)	Hungarian Writers' Union before and during; after the Revolt, State Journal	In vanguard of ferment before Revolt, now organ of Kadar regime	150,000 before Revolt
<i>Muvelt Nep</i> (Educated People)	Discontinued	<i>Muvelt Nep</i>	Ministry of People's Education	Cultural magazine in the lighter vein	Not available
<i>Elet es Tudomany</i> (Life and Science)	Discontinued	<i>Elet es Tudomany</i>	"Association for the Advancement of Social and Natural Sciences"	Popular Science	200,000 Pre- and Post-Revolt
<i>Uj Ember</i> (New Man)	Discontinued	<i>Uj Ember</i>	Not stated, but had approval of the Bishopry	Religious (Catholic)	Not available
<i>Reformatus Egyhaz</i> (Protestant Church)	Discontinued	<i>Reformatus Egyhaz</i>	United Protestant Assembly	Religious (Protestant)	1,700 before Revolt
<i>Az Ut</i> (The Path)	Discontinued	<i>Reformatusok Lapja</i> (Protestant Journal)	United Protestant Assembly	Religious	17,000 before Revolt
<i>Kereszt</i> (Cross) Banned by the Vatican before the Revolt. Then named <i>Katolikus Szó</i> (Catholic Word)	Discontinued	Discontinued	National Peace Committee of Hungarian Catholic Church	Pseudo-religious publication which appeared bi-monthly	Not available
<i>Uj Vilag</i> (New World)	Discontinued	<i>Orszag Vilag</i> (Our Country and the World)	Hungarian-Soviet Association	Propaganda magazine, dealing chiefly with the Soviet Union and the Satellite countries	Not available
<i>Hirek Magyarorszagbol</i> (News from Hungary)	Discontinued	<i>Magyar Hirek</i> (Hungarian News)	"Hungarian World Association"	Illustrated propaganda magazine for Hungarians abroad	Not available
<i>Kispajtas</i> (Pal)	Discontinued	<i>Pajtas</i>	Youth Literary Publishing Co.	Picture magazine with political overtones for children	100,000 after Revolt
<i>Uttoro</i> (Pioneer)	Discontinued	Discontinued	Youth Literary Publishing Co.	Picture magazine with political overtones	Not available

IV. Monthlies

Pre-Revolt	During Revolt	After Revolt	Published by	Description	Circulation
<i>Tarsadalmi Szemle</i> (Social Review)	Discontinued	<i>Tarsadalmi Szemle</i> , reopened in June 1957	Hungarian Workers' Party, then Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party	Official Party theoretical publication	30,000 before Revolt
<i>Csillag</i> (Star)	Discontinued	Discontinued	Hungarian Writers' Union	The most polished literary and cultural magazine	9,000
<i>Kozgazdasagi Szemle</i> (Economic Review)	Discontinued	<i>Kozgazdasagi Szemle</i>	Economic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Science	The most important regime economic publication	7,000 before Revolt
<i>Szabad Művészet</i> (Free Art)	Discontinued	Discontinued	Hungarian Association of Fine Arts	Outstanding artistic publication, only mildly propagandistic	1,900
<i>Allam és Igazgatás</i> (State and Administration)	Discontinued	Discontinued	Executive Committee of the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers	Theoretical, dealt with local councils' affairs	2,750
<i>Szovjet Kultura</i> (Soviet Culture)	Discontinued	Discontinued	Hungarian-Soviet Association	Exclusively propaganda. Dealt solely with USSR affairs	Not available
<i>Nagyvilág</i> (Big World)	Discontinued	<i>Nagyvilág</i>	Magazine Publishing Co.	Relatively objective in tone both before and after the Revolt, dealing with foreign cultures, particularly with those in the free world	Not available
<i>Muszaki Élet</i> (World of Technology)	Discontinued	<i>Muszaki Élet</i>	National Association of Hungarian Technologists	The most important technical publication. After the Revolt a few other technical publications merged with it	29,000 after Revolt
<i>Új Hang</i> (New Voice)	Discontinued	Discontinued	Young Writers' Union	Literary publication, "revisionist" in feeling	Not available
<i>Hungary</i>	Discontinued	Discontinued	Magazine Publishing Co.	Richly illustrated picture magazine for use abroad, appeared in English	Not available
<i>Termelőszövetkezet</i> (Kolkhoz)	Discontinued	<i>Jövendők</i>	Bi-monthly of the Cooperative Council	Propaganda for collectivization	27,500 before Revolt

V. Publications Started Under Kadar Weeklies

<i>Nemzetközi Élet</i> (International Life)	"Kossuth Magazine and Book Publishing Co."	Propagandistic, dealing with foreign affairs	Not available
<i>Magyarország</i> (Hungary)	Tancsics Mihály Club (Replacement for Petöfi Club)	In Kadar style—for the intellectual youths	Not available

Monthlies

<i>Magyar Filozófiai Szemle</i> (Hungarian Philosophic Review)	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Filozófiai Intézete (Philosophic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Science)	Communist, but deals rather objectively with international philosophic issues	Not available
<i>Természettudományi Közlemények</i> (Natural Science Review)	Social and Natural Sciences Association	Deals objectively with scientific and technical problems	Not available

"We, the Youth"

In the February 17 issue of Sztandar Mlodych, a Warsaw daily, there appeared a questionnaire entitled "We, the Youth of the Atomic Age." It was designed to profile the attitudes of Polish youth, or, at least, its more educated and politically aware members. Below is the major portion of the first report on answers, from the March 23-24 issue of the newspaper.

On February 17, 1957, we invited our readers to answer our questionnaire, "We, the Youth of the Atomic Age." We received 510 answers within a month. The majority of the participants are men (421 answers). From women we received only 80 answers. [The discrepancy of 9 is unexplained.]

The age spread is rather wide: from 13 to 45. But the overwhelming majority of responses comes from young people, 17 to 25 years old. The most represented age was 18, with 50 responses.

Who answered the inquiry? The greatest number of letters, 100, was received from lyceum students [lyceum—course equivalent to the four-year American high school]. Students at institutions of higher learning sent in 84 letters; servicemen, 75; white-collar workers, 40; engineers and technicians, 28; teachers, 27; workers, 26; agricultural workers, 25; artisans, 9; merchant seamen, 5; unemployed, 8. There were also painters, actors, geologists, economists, mathematicians and musicians. . . .

As the answers indicate, the overwhelming majority of writers are young people who were or are most active in the past or present period, are interested in politics and well read. For this reason we are of the opinion that the results of the inquiry should not be considered a reflection of the opinions and feelings of the younger generation as a whole. . . .

Question 1: *Is it worthwhile to hold ideals?*

As the question did not indicate what kind of ideals are involved, those who participated in the inquiry understood the question in two different ways, roughly speaking: as referring to general social ideals, or as referring to personal ideals for one's own life. . . . It is rather difficult in this case to give any precise statistical data. It can be said, however, that 312 answers were in favor of adhering to ideals.

"It is not simply worthwhile, but it is necessary to believe in ideals," writes one of the participants. And then he adds, "A man who does not have ideals is a cripple."

A certain number of this group (72 persons) have some reservations on the subject: ideals are worthwhile, but if, as often happens, ideals fail then one retains a life-long bitter disillusion.

196 answers declared against the belief in ideals. "No, and once again no!" A.M. writes from Warsaw. "For twelve years I kept believing in ideals, and then everything was shattered." As reason for their attitude, most persons within this group give the disillusionment suffered by them in connection with their social-political ideals in the Stalinist period.

Question 2: *Is it worthwhile to be a hero in the twentieth century?*

269 answer yes, 240 answer no. Various objections were put forth in both cases. They concerned the question of what kind of a hero it is worthwhile being in these times. For instance, one correspondent wrote:

"The term 'hero' is a wide one. It is worthwhile to be a hero, but by no means a hero attracting too much publicity. The best thing is not to be a hero in politics."

Someone else, while striving for a definition of a modern hero, makes the following remark:

"A hero of the twentieth century is a man who thinks, a researcher who offers the results of his life's work not for fame, but for humanity."

This attitude is very common among the participants. Meditating on the concept of heroism, many writers stress its transitory character, and prefer to look for their models not on the battlefields or in the politicians' cabinets, but in the scientists' laboratories, to see it in the courage of speaking the truth, etc.

Question 3: *Have you found a goal in your life?*

To this question 367 gave an affirmative answer, 119 a negative one. 24 persons are in search of a goal. Among the affirmative answers, 301 chose a "personal" goal. They understood it in the sense of founding a family (70 persons), scientific pursuit (104), work and professional advancement (70). Below are some of these answers:

"To live, to be housed, and to work like a human being."
"To get an education." "I want to have an apartment and to earn more money." "To have a loving companion in one's life, a son, and friends."

General goals were adopted by 66 persons. Here are some of their answers:

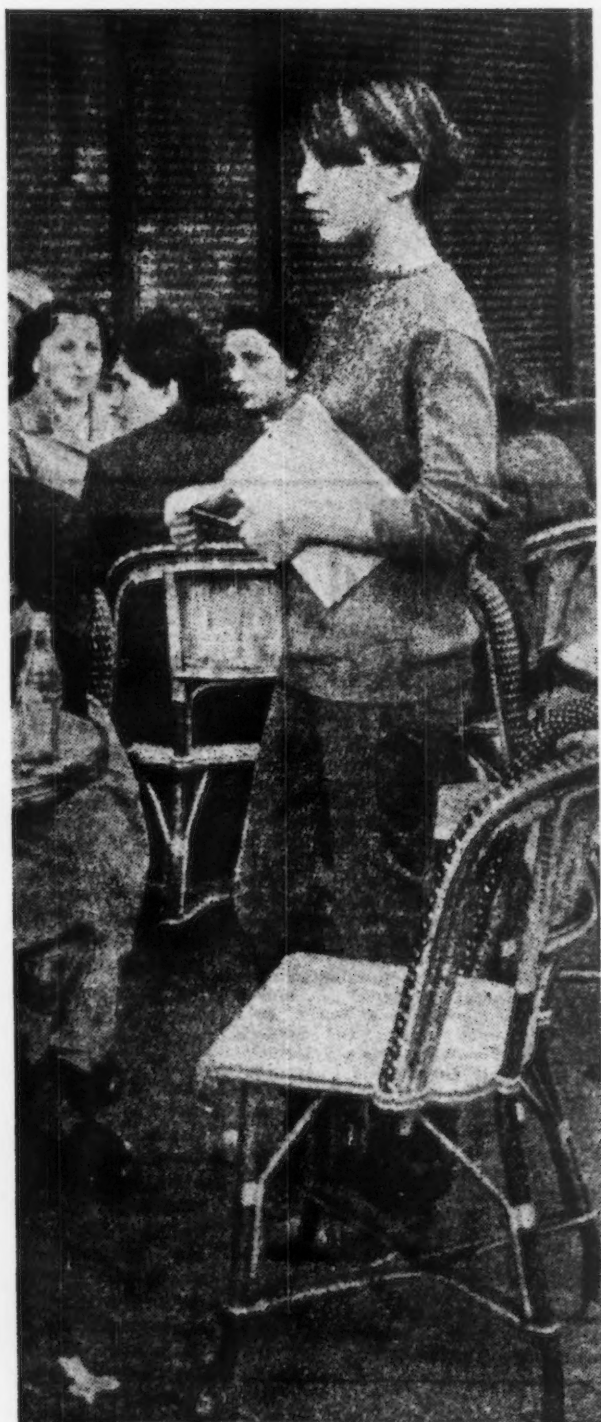
"To live in a good way, bringing at least a little happiness into the lives of others." "To live and work for the sake of simple people." "Wholly to devote one's own soul to society."

Below are some characteristic answers of those who answered in the negative:

"In our period, we are servants, not creators of our own fate." "I am not always the artisan of my own happiness." "Shit!" "To live in order to work, and to work in order to live? Ridiculous and foolish."

These answers confirm the opinion that, even among this most mature group of youth, the attitude of minimizing life's goals is starting to take root. This is connected with the crisis of faith in general ideas, as well as with the low standard of living in our society.

Girl in Warsaw



Sztandar Młodych (Warsaw), March 23-24, 1957

Question 4: *What is your greatest wish?*

424 correspondents had wishes of a personal nature, 75 of a general nature. However, the majority of the participants are of the opinion that the realizations of both types of wishes are closely connected. Most prevalent among personal wishes were those for a rise in the standard of living (105 persons); travel 67; career, 41; education, 41; acquiring an apartment, 39.

Here are some of the comments:

"To have my own one-family house." "To have space enough for an average-size bed." "To have money and a car." "To get a diploma and a job." "To have a girl, a nice apartment, and a job." "To see at least some of the world."

A few comments by those with general wishes were: "To give one's whole heart to People's Poland and to defend her interests." "The large scale and practical adaption of Socialism to people, not people to Socialism." "That Poland be prosperous, peaceful, and happy." "I dream of true and deep humanism among the people."

Question 5: *What is your life's passion?*

There are almost as many passions as participants. Various books were mentioned by 87 persons and different types of sport by 53. 44 avowed their passion for movies, 29 for travel, 28 for education, 24 for music. Others spoke for politics, 18; study of human character, 17; theatre, 12; writing (poetry and prose), 11; reading the press, 7; bridge, 7; stamp collecting, 6; vacation trips, 7; technical subjects, 8; poetry, 5; foreign languages, 4; struggle against evil, 3; aviation, 3; the wish for peace and quiet, 4; letter-writing, 3; chess, 4; girls, 3; getting an apartment, 3; painting, 3; singing, 2; daydreaming, 2; defense of peace, 2; to be contrary in everything, 2. Single votes went to speaking the truth, discussion, hunting criminals, puzzles, Esperanto, fame, gambling, dancing, work among the youth, collecting cactuses, cleaning the apartment, the woods, money, Eastern philosophy, cars, actresses, rock and roll.

38 persons said they had no passion at all.

Question 6: *What was your most important experience?*

Here there are a great variety of answers. The most numerous are love experiences (56 persons). The others were: the October events [when Gomulka took power], 31; war, 29; getting done with school, 20; illness, 14; prison, 11; the Twentieth [Soviet Party] Congress, 9; the Hungarian tragedy, 8; term of military service, 6; the Poznan events [the June 1956 riots], 7; the [1955 Youth] Festival [in Warsaw], 5; non-admittance to the university, 4; childbirth, 4; sporting event, 4; Poland's liberation, 3; first airplane flight, 3; wedding, 3; examinations, 5; investigation by the Security Police, 2; anti-Semitism, 2; poverty, 2; visit abroad, 2; non-admittance to work, 2; divorce, 2; fire, 2; Stalin's death, 2; atheism, 3; shattering of ideals, 2; dissolution of ZMP [Stalinist-period youth group], 2; Warsaw uprising, 2; admittance to Party membership, 2.

One correspondent mentioned each of the following experiences: first reading of "The Great Improvisation" [by

the poet Mickiewicz], disillusionment toward the Socialist Youth Union, mother's tears, starting work, getting drunk, entertainment, trip to the mountains, concentration camp in Oswiecim, guerilla fight, [Party leader] Bierut's death, removal from the Party.

51 persons wrote that they had not gone through any experience.

Question 7: *What are your greatest difficulties?*

The answers were already implied by those to the preceding question. Correspondents may be divided into two categories; those who already have their own home and family, live an independent life, and whose greatest difficulties concern job-finding, financial and housing problems; and those who are still supported by their parents and are worried chiefly by schoolwork, chances of obtaining admittance to the university, and love affairs.

Question 8: *What books do you like most?*

156 persons favored detective and pure fantasy fiction. They referred most often to Conan Doyle, Agatha Christie, Lem [contemporary Polish satirist]. 98 mentioned travel fiction. But the overwhelming majority preferred historical works.

In Polish classical literature H. Sienkiewicz led with 148 mentions. Next in line were I. Kraszewski, B. Prus, S. Zeromski. Contemporary Polish writers favored were: M. Hlasko, 39 and J. Meissner, 31. M. Dabrowska, A. Fiedler, and A. Rudnicki each received over 20 votes.

Foreign classical literature showed Balzac in the lead with 61, followed by Stendhal with 30. Victor Hugo, Dickens, Zola, Dumas, Romain Rolland, and de Maupassant each got more than 20 mentions. Contemporary literary figures were led by Hemingway with 53 and Françoise Sagan with 36; Mann, Remarque, A. Tolstoy, Vercors, Steinbeck, Ehrenburg, Sholokhov, and Erskine Caldwell received over 20.

Five percent of the correspondents took no interest in books.

Characteristically, many persons simply mentioned the books they had read recently; some of the authors were credited with books they did not write. Nevertheless, the letters did give evidence of their writers' acquaintance with the "fashionable" literature of the day, and showed that the correspondents are rather well read.

Question 9: *Do you have your own hero?*

145 participants have no heroes. The rest adhere to the following living, dead, literary, or legendary "heroes."

Byron—2
Beethoven—1
Rhett Butler from "Gone With the Wind"—1
Bem [19th century Polish general who fought for Hungarian freedom]—2
Bierut—1
[Premier] Cyrankiewicz—1
Cynics—1
Churchill—1
Chaplin—2
Twentieth Century Man—1

Chou En-lai—1
Christ—1
Count of Monte Christo—1
The Pathfinder [James Fenimore Cooper's character]—1
H. Dabrowski [general of Napoleonic era]—1
Dostoevsky—1
Don Quixote—2
Dzierzynski [early head of the Soviet Secret Police; a Pole]—1
Martin Eden [Jack London's character]—17
Einstein—3
Engels—1
Gorki—1
Gomulka [Party leader]—30
Garibaldi—3
Hamlet—3
Sherlock Holmes—2
Kosciuszko [leader of 1794 Polish uprising]—24
Jean Christophe—3
Anna Karenina—1
Kostrzewa [woman Communist liquidated by Stalin]—4
"The Keys of the Kingdom," novel by A. J. Cronin—1
Korczagin [hero of Soviet novel "How Steel Was Hardened"]—8
Kotarbinski [contemporary Polish philosopher]—1
Kon-tiki's crew—1
Gina Lollobrigida—1
Jack London—3
People of moral principles—1
Lenin—4
Arsene Lupin [French fictional detective]—1
Physicians—1
Marius from *Les Misérables*—1
Mickiewicz [great 19th century Polish poet]—12
Yves Montand [French popular singer]—4
Mao Tse-tung—1
Mayakowsky [Soviet poet]—1
Missionaries—1
Nehru—4
Kostka Napierski [leader in a peasant rebellion in XVII century]—1
Napoleon—11
Newton—1
Onassis [millionaire ship-owner]—1
The Eagles of Lwow [child defenders of Lwow in 1918]—1
Petofi [Hungarian poet and patriot]—1
Picasso—1
Pilsudski—1
Prince Rainier of Monaco—1
Good Soldier Schweik [from J. Hasek's novel]—4
Hanka Sawicka [Communist activist during German Occupation of Poland]—1
Spychalski [Minister of Defense]—1
Sartre—1
Slowacki [great Polish 19th century poet]—1
Slonimski [contemporary Polish poet]—1
Sienkiewicz [Polish novelist, 1905 Nobel Prize winner]—2
Socrates—1
Sikorski [Polish commander-in-chief, World War II]—2



Young amateurs in a Cracow night club called *Picnica, The Cellar*, modelled after the Parisian existentialist caves, in a humorous political review. *Przkroj* (Cracow), February 10, 1957

Swierczewski [Communist general killed by Underground unit after the end of World War II]—4
 Julien Sorel [hero of Stendhal's "The Red and the Black"]—4
 Piotr Skarga [writer and preacher 1536-1612]—1
 Stalin—4
 Sidlo [javelin champion]—1
 Till Eulenspiegel [legendary prankster]—1
 Toscanini—1
 Traugutt [leader of the Polish uprising of 1864]—2
 Tuwim [recently deceased Polish poet]—1
 Tito—10
 Washington—1
 Warynski [early Socialist 1856-1889]—1
 Political prisoners—1
 Hungarian Revolutionaries—4
 Jean Valjean from [Hugo's] *Les Misérables*—1
 Zawisza [Polish knight of 15th century; the Polish Sir Galahad]—2

[Mention was also made of the heroes of seventeen Polish novels, plays, and poems, three of them by Sienkiewicz.]

Question 10: *What films and plays do you like most?*

It is impossible to give statistical data concerning this question. As a rule the participants of the inquiry refer to those films and plays which they have seen recently. A number of correspondents do not know theatrical plays at all. The most popular films are Italian and French. The choice of films was even more accidental than the choice of literary works. Bad films are mentioned next to masterpieces. Polish films are not very popular. Best liked theatrical works are Polish plays from the Romantic period (Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Fredro).

Question 12: *What kind of music is characteristic of the twentieth century spirit?*

381 persons favor jazz and dance music; of this number 135 consider rock and roll the kind of music most com-

patible with the spirit of the century. Only 28 persons are admirers of serious music; only 10 of folk-music.

The rest of the participants are either uninterested in music (this is admitted by 8 persons), or have no opinion. Some comments [on rock and roll] were: "I admire the mad tempo." "I like jazz because it is as mad as our world in general." "Rhythm, tempo, melody—this is the twentieth century." "This is only the beginning." "This mad tempo permits one to forget everything."

Question 13: *Are you interested in politics?*

Yes: 449. No: 56.

"I am interested in politics, because my life depends on it," writes one correspondent. This is the most typical motivation. Many persons admit that they have become interested in politics only recently. Some associate this change with the October events. As a general conclusion, it may be stated that the new interest of youth in politics is due to revitalization of press discussions, authenticity of information, and more objective interpretation of international events.

One characteristic of the correspondents is their attitude of spectators. They watch with interest, but show no willingness to take active part in public affairs. Their responses to the questionnaire contained almost no mention of existing political or social organizations.

Question 14: *Do you share Einstein's pessimism?*

(The full text of the question was as follows: five years ago, Einstein, discussing the invention of atomic weapons, said the world was approaching the brink of a precipice; do you share this pessimism?)

Yes: 260. No: 240.

Typical opinions:

"It's true; the world is now on the brink of a precipice." "Atomic threat will be suspended over us as long as the world is divided into two opposing camps." "I trust that common sense will eventually be victorious in the field of politics . . . that atomic energy, liberated by the human intellect, will not result in new Hiroshimas and Nagasakis, but will be put to man's service."

Even those who share Einstein's pessimism are often hopeful that, somehow, the world will be able to avoid



The editorial staff of the Wroclaw students' and young intellectuals' weekly *Poglady*.

Swiat (Warsaw), March 3, 1957

atomic tragedy. A frequent argument was that possession of atomic weapons by both camps would prevent their use.

Question 15: *What do you think about recent world developments?*

156 correspondents were clearly optimistic; another 32 were optimistic with certain reservations. 259 were pessimistic, and 62 speculated in both directions.

The events in Poland, beginning in the month of October, provided the best grounds for hope. Unfavorable forecasts were predicated on the Hungarian tragedy, the present policies of the Big Powers, and, to a lesser extent, fear of growing German militarism and the Middle East crisis.

Frequently the reasoning intertwined; facts interpreted pessimistically by some persons were considered by others as justification for optimism.



Building Industry II

Second of two articles on the building industry in Eastern Europe. The first article (June issue) dealt with Poland and Czechoslovakia. The second covers Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania.

Hungary

PICTURES OF BUDAPEST after last October's Revolt showed a city of destruction. It resembled, with its streets of rubble and its blasted facades, the post-Nazi Budapest of 1945. The buildings on Ulloi Street, where the Kilian Barracks stood, were battered and smashed over a distance of a mile. Early reports suggested that the effects of the new Russian "liberation" were nearly as bad as those of the first. Later the government announced that the damage had been exaggerated. The Central Office of Statistics issued a report on January 15 stating that 20,000 apartments had been damaged in Budapest, and 2,217 destroyed. More than 700 shops and restaurants had also been damaged. On February 28 the Deputy Minister for Building, Laszlo Lux, told a press conference that building repairs would be completed by the end of June.

Hungary's Aging Cities

DESPITE OFFICIAL efforts to minimize the situation, such losses are serious in a city like Budapest. In 1940 about half of its houses dated from before the First World War, and 15 percent of them had been put up before 1870.* In the Second World War nearly 28,000 houses were damaged and "several tens of thousands" made uninhabitable, according to a Communist source (*Magyar Nemzet* [Budapest], September 4, 1956). An article published shortly before last fall's Revolt stated that of Budapest's 140,000 buildings, 20,000 were in need of complete renovation and another 40,000 needed it in part (*Esti Buda-*

pest, October 17, 1956). Similar obsolescence prevails in other Hungarian cities. In Vac, not long before the Revolt, 78 families were said to be living in buildings that had been classed as unsafe. Radio Budapest, commenting on this report, said that it could be duplicated in every other Hungarian city (June 23, 1956). The extent of the problem was recognized by the regime in drawing up its Second Five Year Plan (1956-1960), under which 3 billion forint were to be spent on the renovation of old houses. The sum may be compared with the total amount of 1.15 billion forint spent by the State on housing construction in 1955.**

New Houses

The rate of house building in postwar years has been inadequate, as in other Communist countries. The regime has not published precise statistics on the number of new dwelling units completed, but from certain official statements it is evident that building has lagged far behind plan.

The First Five Year Plan (1950-1954) called for the construction of 180,000 dwellings. When the Plan was re-

** The Plan figure is from *Magyar Nemzet*, September 4, 1956; the amount spent on construction is from *Magyar Statisztikai Zsebkönyv*, Budapest, 1956. The comparison assumes that the forint had about the same value in both cases.



"The rotary kilner kilns of the Victoria Socialista Cement Factory at Turda."

Rumania Today (Bucharest), June 1956

* United Nations, *The European Housing Situation*, 1956, p. 22. The suburbs were not included in the estimate.

vised in 1951 the number was upped to 220,000 dwellings, half of them to be built by the State and half by private individuals and groups with State assistance. Official statements claim that 100,000 dwellings were actually built during the five years. While this is considerably less than planned, other evidence suggests that the true figure was somewhat smaller. On the basis of index numbers published in *Statisztikai Szemle* (Budapest), June 1955, and other official statements, the construction of dwellings seems to have gone approximately as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Building</u>	<u>State Building</u>
1950	21,200	4,970
1951	15,200	5,765
1952	14,400	6,340
1953	14,500	7,895
1954	23,000	9,940

In 1955 the claim was 30,000 dwellings (*Szabad Nep* [Budapest], January 22, 1956).

This rate of building was apparently far less than what was needed to keep up with current housing requirements. A United Nations publication, discussing the situation as of 1955, estimated that normal population growth, replacement needs and migration to cities would require the construction of 40,000 to 50,000 new dwellings annually in order to prevent a decline in the standards then prevailing (*The European Housing Situation*, 1956, p. 23). Presumably the demands were even greater in the years of the Five Year Plan, when the marriage rate was higher and the influx to cities reached its peak. In the provincial city of Kaposvar, for example, the population grew from 33,082 in 1949 to 45,000 in 1955, while the number of dwellings increased from 9,746 to 10,308. The local newspaper *Somogyi Neplap* reported on May 20, 1956, that 21 families were living in former shops or stores and 49 families in hovels, cellars and buildings with sagging roofs. Ten houses had collapsed that year.*

Industrial Building

The major effort, of course, was directed to industrial construction, and housing was little more than a residual item during the Five Year Plan. Direct expenditure on housing by the State was 3.9 billion *forint*, while total construction expenditures came to 39.1 billion *forint*—more than half of total national investment (*Magyar Statisztikai Zsebkönyv* [Budapest], 1956). The building effort was thus a very large one. It preempted more than a fifth of the industrial labor force in 1952 and 1953. Summing up what was done during the Five Year Plan, the Minister of Housing and Public Construction wrote:

"In five years 70 new plants were built and twice as

* The biweekly *Gazdasági Figyelo* (Budapest) said on May 2, 1957, that only 25,539 apartments were built in Budapest from 1950 to 1955. It estimated that the increase in population required more than 100,000 and that replacement needs called for another 15,000. Moreover, 3,000 apartments were requisitioned for office and factory use.



"Mounting prefabricated wall panels at the Borsod Power Plant."
Hungary (Budapest), July 1955

many old factories were modernized. New cities appeared on the map of our country, such as Sztalinvaros, Kazincbarcika, Oroszlany, Komlo, Tatabanya, Varpalota. . . . New universities and schools were built. We should have to draw up a long list to enumerate the improvements and capital construction completed in the light and food industry and in agriculture. . . . Enterprises controlled by the Ministry of Housing and Public Construction completed, on the average, twice as many projects each year as in the year before. . . ." (Lajos Szijarto in *Magyar Epitoipar* [Budapest], July 1955.)

The Minister did not mention other projects that were begun and had to be abandoned or postponed, such as the new subway in Budapest, the Eastern Canal and others. The Communists now admit that much of the Five Year Plan investment was "superfluous" and that its emphasis on heavy industrial construction exceeded the country's capacity.

Building Materials

THE IRRATIONALITY of Hungary's economic planning can be seen from the fluctuations that occurred in the output of building materials—the basic ingredients of any investment program. The original Five Year Plan had aimed to increase total industrial output by 80 percent over the 1949 level. This required equal or greater increases

in the production of cement, bricks, glass and other building materials. But early in 1951 the Plan was revised and its targets greatly increased. Industrial output in 1954 was to be almost two-thirds greater than under the original Plan, and the output of heavy industry four-fifths greater. The main burden fell upon the construction industry, which had to carry out the fantastic program of investment building. The revised Plan nearly doubled the gross output target of the construction industry for 1954.* This meant, of course, that the production of building materials had to be correspondingly increased. For example, the target for cement was raised from 1.05 million tons in 1954 to 2.10 million tons, meaning that in five years cement production was expected almost to quadruple.

Production of building materials reached a peak in 1953, the fourth year of the Plan. Compared with 1949, the output of bricks had more than trebled, while cement and lime production had not quite doubled. However, quite aside from the other strains besetting Hungary's economy, it is doubtful that this growth was enough to sustain the building program envisaged by the Plan.

Recognition of the difficulties inherent in the Plan came in mid-1953, when it was revised a second time. This was the period of the "New Course," when the Satellites attempted to shift investment away from heavy industry to consumer goods, housing and agriculture. In Hungary the consequences were drastic, particularly in the construction industry. As many investment projects were suspended or discontinued, the gross output target for construction was cut back nearly 40 percent. Total employment in building fell from 270,000 in 1953 to 200,000 in 1954 and 177,000 in 1955.** The production of principal building materials—bricks, cement, plate glass—fell markedly (see the box). The Communists had managed to compress an economic boom and an economic slump into the short space of five years.

One reason for revising the Plan was a shortage of fuel and basic industrial raw materials—a shortage which became chronic after 1952 and was felt everywhere in the national economy. As late as June 28, 1956, *Magyar Nemzet* assigned fuel shortages as a cause of difficulties in the building materials industry:

"The industry . . . still faces great difficulties because of inadequate supplies of coal and gas. . . . The [lime] industry produced 26,000 metric tons less than scheduled in the first quarter of 1956 because coal supplies were not properly organized. . . . The monthly output of lime lags by some 800 to 1,000 metric tons merely because the lime works in Dorog cannot get the necessary gas for lime-burning from the Coal Processing Chemical Enterprise in Dorog . . . the Cement and Lime Works in Belapatfalva produced in the period from April 18th to 24th only 110-120 tons of lime per day instead of 170-180 tons because of the inadequate fuel supply. . . . The Cement and Lime works in Labatlan could not produce lime on June 2nd and 3rd for lack of coal."

* See "The Economy of Hungary, 1950 to 1954," in the United Nations' *Economic Bulletin for Europe*, August 1955, Table 1.

** United Nations, *op. cit.*, Table 7, and *Magyar Statisztikai Zsebkönyv* (Budapest), August 1956.

The National Enterprises

UNLIKE OTHER INDUSTRIES, the construction industry had to be radically transformed when the Communists came to power. Formerly it had been an industry of small firms, most of them employing less than 10 workers. The Communists set out to reorganize the industry into large-scale national enterprises and to mechanize it. Beginning in 1948 with a total of about 5,000 workers, the national enterprises expanded until, in 1953, they employed about 190,000 and accounted for 70 per cent of the total manpower. (Other building workers were employed by various ministries and State organs, by cooperatives and by what remained of private construction firms.)

Strenuous efforts were made to modernize the industry. "The nationalized construction industry used in 1954, among other machines, more than 900 cranes of various types, more than 3,000 conveyor belts, 250 bulldozers of varying capacity, almost 2,000 plaster mixers, more than 600 cement mixers, some 140 asphalt mixers, 248 caterpillar tractors, 638 mechanical tampers and more than 5,000 sand and gravel sifters. In 1954, 47.7 percent of the excavating, 73.6 percent of the plaster mixing, 54.9 percent of the cement mixing and 8.1 percent of the plastering were done by machinery." (*Statisztikai Szemle* [Budapest], November 1955.) It was primarily the national enterprises which received the new machines; other building organizations, accounting for more than a third of total construction activity, were allotted "practically no machines at all." (*Statisztikai Szemle*, August 1956.)



"The Switch Factory at Gyongyos was built entirely with prefabricated parts. Here the skylights are being installed."

Hungary (Budapest), July 1955

The regime also attempted to introduce the use of prefabricated parts in order to reduce costs and save manpower, but the effort met with little success. Although some prefabricated elements were produced in considerable quantity—beams, staircases and ceiling panels in particular—they remained expensive and of poor quality. Adequate machinery was lacking to install them (*Statisztikai Szemle*, November 1955). One critic published an article with the sarcastic title, "More Expensive Apartments by Using Up-to-date Methods," in which he stated that it was cheaper not to use prefabricated parts. "The trouble is not with the prefabrication but with the unsatisfactory organization of work and methods of installation." (*Nepszava* [Budapest], October 9, 1956)

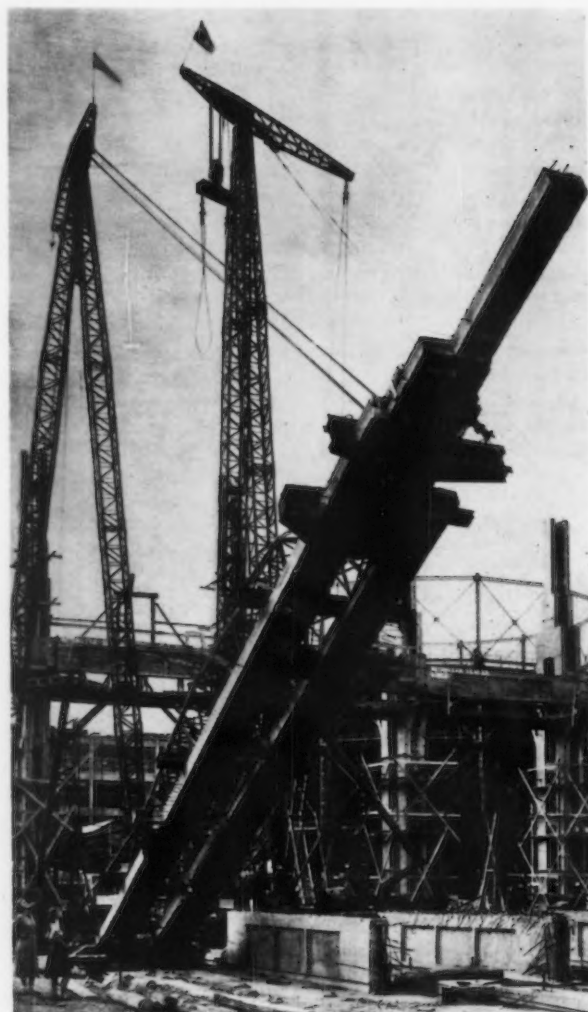
Manpower Problems

BEGINNING IN 1953, when the building program of the Five Year Plan was cut back, the national enterprises lost some of their predominance. Total employment in construction declined about 25 percent between 1952 and 1954, but in the national enterprises it declined by 40 percent. Many of the workers went over to private building firms, where employment rose from about 5,000 in 1952 to 22,000 in 1954.*

The difficulties experienced by the enterprises in holding their employees, and the efforts they were forced to make to retain them, have been described by an expert with long experience in the building industry who left Hungary after the October Revolt. The industry was largely an itinerant one in the sense that the working place changed frequently. Many large building projects were located in rural areas where there were no living accommodations for the workers who had to be brought in from a distance. Quarters had to be provided, as well as food and other necessities. Moreover, many of the skilled workers and a majority of the unskilled were of peasant background and maintained roots in their native villages. At harvest time they would leave to go home and work on the land. To offset these factors the enterprises had to take special measures.

"The general practice, especially on building sites far from towns, was to erect temporary, rather primitive, quarters. The cost of erection was included in the so-called operating expenses and had to be paid by the future owner of the building. In practice, building firms had to show a profit (which often did not exist) earned on each undertaking. Saving on the estimated operating expenses provided a good opportunity to show a profit. Mouldy material was used for the erection of temporary buildings, and bad doors and windows put in since they were going to be pulled down anyway. This led to numerous complaints from the workers about their accommodations. Furniture was very unsatisfactory—it consisted merely of a makeshift wooden bed. The workers had to keep their personal belongings in their own chests."

* All employment figures are estimates, based on United Nations, *op. cit.*, and on a table in *Kozgazdasági Szemle* (Budapest), March 1956, which gives proportions of total employment by sectors of the building industry in 1952, 1953 and 1954.



Erecting prefabricated pillars for the Klement Gottwald Electrical Machine Factory.
Hungary (Budapest), July 1955

But after 1950-1951 the situation began to improve:

"The Ministry of Housing and Public Construction laid down 'social norms' in a special decree covering workers' living quarters. Wooden beds were replaced by iron ones with spring mattresses, and cupboards were provided. In 1952 the 'social manager' was introduced. This functionary was employed solely to supervise and control the living conditions of the workers at their places of work. The idea of building permanent workers' hostels came to the fore. This was closely connected with the change in the nature of the building program as the large-scale building of apartments began to be concentrated in towns. At the end of 1953 and the beginning of 1954 [the "New Course" era] a number of workers' hostels were built as part of the national building program. They were permanent buildings, nicely furnished, and fully met the requirements of the

workers. By the end of 1956 almost all the big building firms had their own workers' hostels. For example, the Salgotarjan State Construction Firm owned a hostel accommodating 100 workers. These quarters were given to the more valuable workers. Stakhanovites occupied single rooms, while other workers shared rooms. The furnishings consisted of iron beds with spring mattresses, coarse blankets were gradually replaced by quilts, every worker had a cupboard of his own, and there were a table and chairs and a radio or wired loudspeaker. The hostel of the Fejer County Construction Firm, accommodating 250 workers, was finished in 1955. It had bathrooms, a large dining room and a culture hall with radio, library, film projector and games. Hot water was provided twice a week. Three or four workers shared a room. The hostels of Budapest firms, for example the Csepel hostel, were even better furnished (day-rooms, carpets, nicer furniture, etc.). Each hostel had a warden and special staff to do the cleaning. The workers had to pay nothing."

Because most of the workers were employed far from where they lived, the enterprises had to pay their fares home once a month. "But the workers were not content with visiting their families once a month. As a rule, they left every Friday afternoon and returned late Monday morning. In principle, only every other Saturday was free, but nevertheless 80 or 85 percent of the workers went home every weekend. Special workers' trains were run on the main lines; they travelled with cheap workers' season tickets and did not have to pay more than 20 or 25 *forint* for the longest journey."

The wage system was predominantly one of piece-rates. In the first half of 1955 building workers were paid piece-rates for 78 percent of their hours worked (*Statistikai Szemle*, November 1955). The method was applied even to stove-fitters, sculptors, stucco men, locksmiths and cabinetmakers. The president of the building workers' union, Janos Brutyo, complained: "Stonecutters who carve figures are required to work at piece-rates. This means setting little value on good quality work." (*Nepszava*, September 12, 1956)

Present Prospects

IN THE SUMMER of 1956 when the plight of the Hungarian economy had become all too obvious, the regime produced its Second Five Year Plan (1956-1960). It was a cautious but optimistic attempt to continue the policy of industrial expansion without repeating the mistakes of the First Five Year Plan. Building of new industrial facilities was to be minimized, and the emphasis placed instead on improving the technical efficiency of existing plants. On the other hand the rate of housebuilding was to be increased to more than double that of the first Plan. More than 200,000 new apartments were scheduled by 1960.

The Plan bore little relation to the real economic and political situation in Hungary, and since the October Revolt nothing further has been heard of it. The regime now anticipates a Three Year Plan to be launched in 1958, but the shape of it has not yet been given. Laszlo Lux, the Deputy Minister of Building, told a press conference on February 28 that the government hopes to complete 22,000

Production of Building Materials in Hungary

	1938	1949	1953	1954	1955
Bricks (million)	647	389	1,321	1,138	1,198
Tiles (million)	—	119	109	121	149
Cement (thousand tons)	323	552	1,060	947	1,175
Lime (thousand tons)	186	226	447	460	510
Reinforced concrete beams (thousand meters)	—	71	1,937	1,492	1,409
Asbestos-concrete roofing (thousand sq. meters)	—	765	1,906	3,122	2,905
Plate glass (thousand sq. meters)	—	3,434	4,379	3,572	4,586
Plywood (cubic meters)	6,480	19,713	20,061	19,400	18,307

Source: *Magyar Statisztikai Zsebkönyv* (Budapest), 1956.

dwelling units in 1957 (including houses begun last year and not completed before the Revolt). These are to include 7,000 dwellings for miners. He also said that about 20,000 dwellings will be built by local councils and by private builders (Radio Budapest, February 28).

Bulgaria

MAX JOSEPH VON PETTENKOFER, a German hygienist of the nineteenth century, estimated the amount of living space necessary to provide sufficient air for health at nine square meters per person (about 97 square feet). This has been accepted as a minimum standard by many European countries, including the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, although in the latter countries it now applies only in theory. A Bulgarian paper, *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), said on July 4, 1950, that "the average living space per person is now 5.5 square meters [about 59 square feet], although theoretically it ought to be 9 square meters per person."

Crisis in Housing

THE PRESENT HOUSING situation in Bulgaria is difficult to assess. Official reports give conflicting data, but make plain that in Sofia and other cities the shortage of space in recent years has reached a crisis. The regime's efforts to industrialize have made urban growth inevitable, but as in other Communist countries the building of houses has had a low priority. The problem has been aggravated by the collectivization program in agriculture, which has induced many peasants to leave the countryside. From 1946 to 1956 the urban population grew by more than 40 percent, and the population of Sofia by 56 percent (*Rabotnichesko Delo*, January 17, 1957). Living space in the cities in 1954 was reported to be only 4.6 square meters (about



Illegal homebuilding in the Sofia suburbs.

Vecherni Novini (Sofia), Dec. 14, 1956

50 square feet) per person.*

A recent report claimed that average living space in cities and towns was 6.5 square meters at the end of 1956 (*Rabotnichesko Delo*, January 25, 1957). In conjunction with the figure for 1954 this implies the construction of new living space totalling about 6 million square meters in 1955 and 1956, for urban areas alone.** This is not supported by other statements of the government, which has released only partial figures for 1956 and claimed that in 1955 total residential building under State, private and cooperative auspices was between 1.7 and 1.8 million square meters (*Trud* [Sofia], January 30, 1957, and *Rabotnichesko Delo*, January 26, 1956).

Many descriptions of the housing situation in Bulgaria are accompanied by the plea that the demand for housing has grown faster than the regime's ability to meet it. Some

* Information supplied to the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe by the Bulgarian government. See *The European Housing Situation*, Geneva, 1956. The figure of 4.6 square meters represents "clear living space," defined as total net floor space of living rooms and bedrooms excluding kitchen, entrance hall and bathroom. "Useful space," defined as the total net floor space of the whole dwelling, was said to average 10.8 square meters for each urban resident.

** Allowing for an increase of urban population from about 2,264,000 in 1954 to 2,553,524 at the end of 1956. Excluding such an increase, new construction would still have had to be in excess of 4 million square meters.

groups in the population are admittedly worse off than they were in 1954. These include coal miners. According to the trade union newspaper *Trud*, August 24, 1956, housing accommodations for miners and their families had increased by 57 percent in two years; but in the same period the labor force engaged in mining had also grown, so that the number of people to be housed had risen by 59 percent. Average living space per person for miners and their families was slightly less than 6 square meters (64.5 square feet) in 1956. Another item in *Trud*, on January 7, 1956, cited the hydroelectric development of Batak, where the average worker had only 3.7 square meters of living space, and the average family 5.3. The newspaper *Balkansko Zname*, published in the Balkan mountain town of Gabrovo, ran an editorial on January 29, 1957, pointing out that the city's population had grown by 9,000 since 1946. "But the living space built during the years of the People's Government [i.e., since 1944] amounts to about 40,000 square meters, or 4.5 square meters per capita, when it should have been at least 9 square meters per person. The same situation prevails in other cities too."

The capital city, Sofia, is becoming a city of slums. The periodical *Financy i Kredit* observed in October, 1955, that the rate of new building was much too low to meet current needs. "The annual natural increase [that is, exclusive of immigration] requires at least 2,500 dwellings; taking into consideration the enormous need for new dwellings that is a consequence of the Anglo-American bombings during the war, it is clear that Sofia must build from 4,500 to 5,000 apartments annually over a period of ten years." But in 1956 only 3,000 dwellings were built in Sofia, and in 1957 it is expected that only 3,500 more will be constructed (*Rabotnichesko Delo*, March 14, 1957). The housing shortage in Sofia is so serious that private individuals have taken matters into their own hands, ignoring State regulations against unauthorized building. Sofia's Deputy Chief Architect recently complained to a newspaper that "on the city's outskirts there are about 8,255 illegally-built houses, with more than 40,000 people living in them. Most of them are rickety structures built at night or on holidays. This unplanned construction blights the city's landscape, cripples [already existing] buildings and burdens the State budget. Such unlawful construction is harmful, and if it is not stopped it will interfere with the proper planning and design of the capital." (*Vecherni Novini* [Sofia], December 14, 1956)

The regime has, however, tried to encourage private construction within authorized channels as a means of supplementing the State building program. The policy here is similar to that in other Soviet bloc countries. Since 1954 the Bulgarian Investment Bank has been authorized to grant loans up to 40,000 *leva*, with a 25-year mortgage, to workers, employees and members of handicraft cooperatives for the purpose of house-building.* The government has undertaken to provide plans and blueprints, and local People's Councils have been authorized to make suitable

* But a newspaper in Varna recently complained that new dwellings cost the owners more than 60,000 *leva*, while the maximum loan is 40,000. (*Narodno Delo*, March 16)

land available. Private building has evidently become a more important source of new housing than State building: in 1955, according to Premier Yugov, private and cooperative builders put up 1,151,000 square meters of new living space to only 640,000 square meters by the State (*Trud*, January 30, 1957). Much of the activity seems to have been taken over by private contractors, who charge a high price for their services.

"Despite the government's attempts to facilitate building, not much has been accomplished by individual and cooperative builders. Because none of the government decrees and regulations created any kind of central agency to administer the planning and building of such privately sponsored projects, many former contractors have seized upon these new possibilities. In Sofia, at the end of 1954, 41 dwelling blocks had been completed, containing 750 apartments—all built by private contractors and financed by the Bulgarian Investment Bank." (*Financy i Kredit* [Sofia], October 1955)

On January 22, 1957, the regime released a new decree regulating the procedures to be followed by private builders. Significantly, it prohibited the employment of private contractors and stipulated that all construction financed by loans from the Bulgarian Investment Bank must be carried out by State building organizations or by officially recognized "labor productive building cooperatives." Persons or groups acting as contractors, "either openly or clandestinely," would be subject to criminal prosecution (Decision of the Council of Ministers on Encouraging and Assisting Cooperative, Group and Private Housing Construction, *Rabotnichesko Delo*, January 23, 1957). Thus the regime is faced with the alternatives of improving the performance of Socialized house-building or of yielding to a kind of undercover capitalism. In Sofia, where the situation has aroused the most concern, the January decree provided that the local authorities must construct 300 dwellings in addition to those envisaged in the 1957 Plan. The necessary means are to be obtained by "eliminating expensive and

luxurious work on buildings erected during 1957 and by discovering more economical methods."

It is impossible to gauge the quality of the housing that is being built, although press comments indicate that it is no better than Communist jerry-building in other countries. *Rabotnichesko Delo* remarked on October 11, 1955, that the quality of dwellings constructed did not "correspond to the needs of the working people." It said that on many sites "the construction is poor, buildings are handed over incomplete, electrical and water installations are bungled, and so on. . . ."

Building Materials

THOUGH HOUSING LAGS, the Communists have multiplied the production of building materials as part of their heavy industrial expansion. Official sources claim that the production of cement in 1956 was 3.8 times the output in 1939; the production of bricks 10.6; and the production of plate glass 2.6 (see table).

Before the Communists came to power Bulgaria had two cement factories: one in Batanovzi with a yearly capacity of 300,000 tons and another near Pleven with a capacity of 25 or 30 thousand tons. The erection of a third had been started before the war and the regime finished it by 1953, adding another 300,000 tons or more to total capacity. Two more plants are now under way: one in Reka Devnya with a daily capacity of 1,000 tons, and another in Vrachansko. East German technicians are said to have helped in the planning of the latter.

As often happens, the mounting output statistics have been accompanied by a decline of quality. Newspaper comment on this point has been so severe as to imply that the statistics provide no indication of the real output of usable building materials. On April 19, 1953, *Trud* discussed the problem and concluded that, because of poor materials, "every spring the construction industry suffers



"The workers of the factory like to build their family houses one next to another, and during the building they become good neighbors."

Hungary (Budapest), July-August 1954

NEW FLATS



Bucurestii Noi—see facing page.

Rumania Today (Bucharest), August 1955

from a lack of bricks." *Stalinsko Zname* (Stalin) said on April 8, 1954: "Last year and this it has been impossible to secure enough construction materials." In August 1954 the regime was forced to issue a special decree to combat, among other things, "the weaknesses and shortcomings existing in the production of building materials. . . ." One of its clauses instructed the Minister of Communal Economy and Public Works to punish any officials of that Ministry or of 14 other State enterprises for construction materials "who have allowed production of poor quality building materials." (*Zemedelsko Zname* [Sofia], August 12, 1954)

But substandard production continued. On March 7, 1956, *Rabotnichesko Delo* complained:

"Compared with 1954, the proportion of defective building materials has increased, and in some enterprises this proportion has reached an extremely high level. In the 'Osogovo' factory in Bagrenzi-Kyostendilsko 40 percent of the tiles have been found useless, in 'Tundja' in Yambol 22 percent, etc. The quality of bricks is not much better. . . . To this should be added the quantities of bricks and tiles delivered to construction enterprises as high quality but which in reality are poor quality, unstandardized and easily broken. . . ."

A specific example was the "Dimitrov" plant in Sofia. Only 12 percent of its production in 1955 was considered up to the mark, "and the remaining 88 percent consisted of unstandardized or poor quality bricks." (*Technichesko Delo* [Sofia], February 28, 1956) And *Rabotnichesko Delo* said on March 7, 1956: "In addition to [poor] bricks and tile, builders often receive poor quality cement. Much may be said also about construction timber, which frequently is not of the required quality."

Bulgaria conducts an extensive export trade in cement, bricks, tile, glass, marble, granite and lime. In 1956, according to *Technichesko Delo* (January 1, 1957), the country exported 10 percent of its brick production and 15 percent of its tile. Trade agreements and other published information show that cement is exported to the Soviet Union, Egypt, Syria, India, Pakistan, Albania, Turkey and West Germany; brick and tile to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East and West Germany; and window glass to Syria, Ceylon, Turkey and Egypt.

Romania

A MARRIED COUPLE who escaped from Romania in October, 1956, reported that during their residence in Bucharest they had shared a five-room apartment with four other families. Each family had one room, and the bathroom and kitchen were used by all. The room assigned to the couple measured 16 square meters (about 13 feet by 13 feet) or precisely the standard size permitted by law. In the kitchen "each woman fought to get a place at the stove, which was of regular size and designed for one family, not five. The women sometimes came to blows."

Romania has shared in the rapid urban growth typical of the whole Satellite area. According to census reports, the population of the eight largest cities—Bucharest, Timisoara, Cluj, Brasov, Ploesti, Iasi, Arad and Braila—grew by 21 percent between 1948 and 1956. No corresponding figures for house building have been published, but the available data indicate clearly enough that the rate of building was far behind the need. The total number of new dwelling units scheduled under the First Five Year Plan (1951-1955) was only 60,000, and this target was re-

The Story of Bucurestii Noi

The Advertisement

"**B**UCURESTII NOI is one of the outlying suburbs of Bucharest. . . . With the chief engineer I visited the first block that had been completed. The interior, from the polished parquet floors to the bathrooms with their colored tiling, is most attractive. Cosy apartments, with walls finished in restful, harmonious colors, larders, laundries and drying-rooms for washing in the cellars, are waiting for tenants. The blocks have central heating and natural gas for cooking. Most of these flats, as the chief engineer told me, will be handed over to workers of enterprises located in the district: the Grivita Rosie Railway Workshops, the Dacia Cotton Mill, the Boleslaw Bierut Metal Works, etc. . . .

"I tried to imagine what these blocks would look like when the tenants of the 1,000 apartments to be made available have moved in. I was helped by a panel erected near the exit from the site, bearing a brightly-colored panoramic sketch of the future settlement. In the middle was the well-known building of the cinema. The slender porticoes of its facade will blend harmoniously with the architecture of the new blocks. The apartment buildings will extend along both its sides like the wings of a gigantic bird; between them will be a big open space with lawns and rows of trees. The crystalline waters of a gaily murmuring fountain will complete this part of the picture. . . . The laughter of children will resound free and triumphant. And dozens of shops, filled with all kinds of goods, will be crowded with shoppers."

Rumania Today (Bucharest), August 1955

The Reality

"**L**AST YEAR the first group of new apartment houses under construction in Bucurestii Noi was turned over for occupancy. About 160 families had the pleasure of moving into spacious apartments in the four buildings.

"From the very beginning, however, they have had a series of unpleasant surprises resulting from the carelessness of the builders, who did not bother to perform good quality work. . . . In this way the efforts of the State to supply housing for the population are being hindered by the bureaucratism and indifference of some of the building firms. The worst nuisance besetting the occupants is that when it rains they have to gather all their belongings into one corner to keep them from getting wet. . . . The administration of Construction Trust No. 3 is aware of this situation and promised to make repairs at the beginning of this year. So far it has done absolutely nothing, and the lodgers on the third floor continue to live within damp walls because of the leaky roof.

"This is not the only trouble besetting the occupants of

Bucurestii Noi. Their most pressing problem at the moment is lack of water. There is water in the apartment house, but it is to be found only on the first floor. . . . They thought that when the water pumps had been installed there would be sufficient pressure. But the water station I.L.L. Grivita has not seen to it that the pumps function continuously resulting in a daily stoppage of water.

"Furthermore, the I.L.L. and the People's Council of Bucharest have not taken steps to complete all the work in these buildings. For example, the laundry rooms and drying rooms are not finished, the doors of the boilers do not close, there are openings in the walls which have not been filled in yet, etc. Last year, when the first group of houses was given over for use, the road building enterprise of the People's Council started to pave the street, and was also supposed to build a small playground for the children. When the paving work was finished they remembered that they had to dig sewers. When they had dug the sewers and filled them in, they remembered that they had forgotten something else. The telephone cable had not been installed. So once more the ground was dug up. In this way the street has been dug up four times, and now one cannot tell any longer where the street has been paved and where it has not. The street . . . is full of holes. . . .

"When the buildings were erected, spacious quarters were built on the ground floor for shops. But none of these proposed shops has yet been opened. For a while the reason advanced was lack of furnishings. Since May the stores have had furnishings, but they are still not operating. Meanwhile the occupants have to go all the way to February 16 Square in order to buy bread or do other shopping. Protests made to the People's Council of Bucharest have had no effect whatsoever. . . .

"It should be said that all these problems were the subject of a special meeting in February, at which all the responsible authorities were present, for the purpose of straightening out the difficulties. Moreover, at that meeting a report was drafted and signed which laid down the precise conditions under which the defects were to be repaired. Seeing that nothing was done, the residents called a meeting to which they invited all those who took part in the February meeting. Engineer Simiu, representing Building Trust No. 3, and architect I. Marinescu, acting for the People's Council of Bucharest, who had taken responsibility for settling the problems raised in February, gave evidence of complete irresponsibility at this [second] meeting. Engineer Iurascu, representing Installation Enterprise No. 211, who had also signed the report in February, out of thorough contempt for this new meeting did not even bother to attend, nor even to delegate someone else to come in order to give concrete answers to the citizens. . . ."

From Rominia Libera (Bucharest), August 29, 1956

Production of Building Materials in Bulgaria

	1939	1948	1955	1956
Bricks (million)	52	130	442.1	552.6
Cement (thousand tons)	226	380	810.3	858.9
Plate glass (million sq. meters)	1.3	1.7	3.2	3.4

Source: United Nations, *Economic Survey of Europe in 1954*, p. 265, and *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), January 27, 1957.

duced in 1953 to 50,000. The regime has not disclosed the actual outcome of its building program, but even if the target was reached it was manifestly too low to accommodate the demand.*

In 1953 the government was forced to ration housing. A law passed in May, resembling a similar law in Czechoslovakia, allots each person eight square meters of living space. More than 12 square meters is considered excessive. Additional space, of course, is allotted for bathroom and kitchen facilities. For favored individuals, such as Heroes of Socialist Labor and higher functionaries, the maximum living space is set at 18 square meters, while really important officials are entitled to 28 square meters.

The Second Five Year Plan (1956-1960) calls for the construction of 2.5 million square meters of housing, including 25,000 dwelling units for miners. This is not a large program, since the total space would scarcely suffice for more than 50,000 families under present Romanian standards. An editorial in *Scinteia* (Bucharest) on May 15, 1956, admitted that it would do little to solve the country's housing problem. Because of increasing urbanization, "it has become clear that the housing problem can be fully solved only by the Socialist rebuilding of the towns. This is a vast project which demands time and gigantic investments."

Building Materials

IN THE CASE of Romania even more than of other Satellites, the housing shortage cannot be ascribed to any lack of materials. The country exports large quantities of cement, plate glass and timber to the Soviet bloc and to the Middle East. The regime's statistical secrecy—carried much farther than in the other Satellites—precludes any detailed discussion of production or export. The production of cement doubled during the Five Year Plan (1951-1955), reaching about two million tons in the latter year, but this was only about 70 percent of the original target. A large cement plant was built at Cernavoda, originally intended to supply material for the Danube-Black Sea canal. The discontinuing of this project in 1953, along with other ambitious construction projects, made it pos-

* Taking the above eight cities alone, the increase of population from 1948 to 1956 was more than 368,000. Assuming four members to a family, this would have required 92,000 new dwellings in eight years—making no allowance for obsolescence.

sible to mount the export campaign of recent years. Some of the exported material is dumped in hard-currency countries at a fraction of the price it sells for domestically.

Much of the brick and cement produced is said to be of inferior quality. A construction engineer who recently left Romania reports that about 30 percent of the bricks delivered to building sites are below the accepted standard, and almost a fifth of them cannot be used at all.

The construction industry, as in other Communist countries, is organized in large national enterprises under the Ministry of Construction. The national enterprises are grouped in State trusts covering different geographic areas, with a central trust in Bucharest administering specialized enterprises. For example, Trust No. 12, with offices in Timisoara, administers two construction enterprises in Resita, another in Arad, an installation enterprise in Timisoara, a trucking enterprise in Timisoara, and a workshop in Arad. Building activities of only local importance are carried on by regional trusts subordinated to the regional People's Councils. Until 1954 the construction industry—like other sectors of the Romanian economy—was dominated by a Soviet-Romanian mixed company, which operated seven building trusts from its headquarters in Bucharest.

There is an acute shortage of skilled labor in the Romanian building industry, a difficulty which it shares with some of the other Satellites. Low wages and poor working conditions aggravate the problem. Efforts to train bricklayers, carpenters and other skilled workers have not removed the shortage. It has also been difficult to attract unskilled labor into the industry, and the regime has employed military labor battalions on a large scale. These military groups are composed largely of army recruits who are politically suspect, or whose relatives are considered politically unreliable. In the years 1954-1956 more than 70,000 soldiers are reported to have been employed in this way. At Resita, for example, military labor was used to build the new blast furnaces, the new rolling mill, the new power station, two open hearth furnaces and more than 40 apartment houses. In rural areas labor is recruited for



"View of the new town Victoria built for the workers of the Stalin Chemical Combine."

Rumania Today (Bucharest), No. 3, 1957

local projects by assessing the village residents for donations of labor.

The regime has tried very hard to mechanize construction. It has been assisted in this by large deliveries of somewhat old-fashioned Soviet equipment which was originally intended for the Danube-Black Sea canal project. When that project was abandoned in 1953 the equipment was distributed to the Sovrom (mixed Soviet-Romanian company) building trusts. Its use has not been very effective. The poor quality of the equipment, added to lack of operating skill, causes frequent breakdowns and the workers fall back upon manual labor. Most cement mixing in Romania is still done by hand.

* * *

Progress and Poverty

THIS ARTICLE is the last of a series covering heavy industry in Eastern Europe. The intention has been to describe the changes taking place in the Satellite economies, with particular attention to the gulf between promise and reality. Since the chief justification of Communism is its claim to be a superior form of economic organization—Communist leaders still speak the traditional language of Marxian Socialism, though they function as captains of industry rather than tribunes of the people—it is worthwhile examining the performance.

The new Satellite regimes maintained that by getting rid of capitalists and landlords they had freed the creative energies of the people. In fact, however, the Communists have sought to organize the people's energies for them in a multitude of ways and to channel them in a direction that the people would not voluntarily have taken. The direction, of course, has been toward heavy industrialization, and it has been taken at a rate that made impossible any substantial rise in the standard of living. But with all this effort the output of heavy industry has not risen as fast as it was intended to. Many of the economic targets have been seriously underfulfilled. A more serious difficulty

is that much of what has been accomplished may not represent progress in the economic sense. For example, Hungary's giant new steel complex at Szolnavoros is dependent upon expensive imports of coal and iron ore from the Soviet Union, and may prove of little future value to the Hungarian economy. Various other big projects laid down in the flush of enthusiasm have either been abandoned—like the "Huko" steel works in Slovakia—or have proved more expensive to finish than was originally foreseen.

While the Satellite governments now publish statistics of production for most of the important industrial items, they seldom release meaningful statistics of cost or productivity. It is not possible to compare the output of coal or cement or steel with the corresponding input of men, money and materials. But it is clear that mounting costs have drained a good deal of the profit from the program. For example, coal production has risen enormously since the war, but the production of inferior types of coal has risen faster than that of better quality. At the same time labor productivity has fallen, in spite of expensive efforts to mechanize coal mining, and the result has been a sharp increase in unit costs. By now it is evident that this hidden seepage afflicts most sectors of the Satellite economies. The Polish and Hungarian upheavals of last October were not simply a rebellion against Soviet domination; they were made possible because the economic situation grew so bad that even the top Communist leaders had to admit publicly that they had made "serious mistakes."

The readjustments now taking place in the Satellite economies indicate that heavy industry will be given less priority in the future. Capital investment has been reduced and at long last a serious effort will apparently be made to improve living standards. The obsession with steel and machinery is being tempered with more attention to chemistry and agriculture. The building industry will build more houses and fewer factories. But it will be a long time before the new programs succeed in paying off the debts of the First Five Year Plans, which mortgaged the Satellites so heavily to a future that refused to come.

Prize Winner

WARSAW is discussing various plans for a projected monument to the "Heroes of Warsaw." In certain cafes it has been suggested that the competition for the best plan has already been won. The winning suggestion envisages a commemorative hill on the site of the Soviet-donated Palace of Culture. In this way the interior of the Palace of Culture would remain as it is, while it would no longer be visible from outside.

"Those Who Hit You"

A Polish Resistance hero and poet of the Underground, Wojciech Bak, has charged that he was railroaded into an asylum for the insane. In a letter published March 2, 1957, in *Tygodnik Zachodni* (Poznan), Bak accused the Polish Writers' Union not merely of cooperation in his illegal detention, but even, "falsely and against its better judgement," of originating the action.

Never a supporter of the regime, Bak has taken little active part in politics since the war-time years, when he made his reputation as a poet of the national non-Communist Underground. Presumably his harassment and persecution were due to a repeatedly expressed desire to leave Poland. In fact, it was during negotiations for an Italian visa in 1952 that his confinement took place.

"I was lured to the Presidium of the Provincial National Council in Poznan," his letter states, "where two doctors (unknown to me) forcibly and illegally ordered my confinement in Dziekanka (the Institute for Nervous Diseases), without notifying my family.

"In that institution I was detained for several weeks among the mentally demented and then transferred to the alcoholics' and drug addicts' ward, where I was forced to remain for several months. What is more, an attempt was made to declare me mentally incompetent, under protest from my family, a protest which Dziekanka's director, Gallus, received from my sister, and which he promised to forward to the Prosecutor's Office. This he did not do. At the hospital I was unable to get in touch with a lawyer, and I was not permitted to make one single step without the company of a male nurse."

The poet was finally released in April of 1953, after a court trial in Poznan which lasted several months. This trial, called under the pretext of "an undescribed financial nature," revolved about the motion by the Writers' Union to declare Bak mentally unfit. The Court twice rejected this motion, but the poet was not permitted to leave Dziekanka until a decision was made in his favor by a special commission. Nevertheless, the Prosecutor promptly appealed to the Supreme Court, and the Writers' Union eliminated Bak's name from its membership. The harassment continued with an abortive attempt to deprive him of his apartment.

In his bitter protest against the action of the Union, Bak accuses it of intercepting and concealing a letter addressed to him from the Italian Consulate, "relinquishing it only at the express demands of my sister, who became informed of it through other sources. The above-mentioned letter was a summons to appear at the Consulate in order to make final arrangements for a visa. These machinations were expressly for the purpose of preventing me from going to the Consulate."

The Writers' Union also falsely averred, the poet states, "that my family does not concern itself with my person . . ." and that because of this "neglect" the "books in my apartment are rotting."



Wojciech Bak
Tygodnik Zachodni (Poznan), March 2, 1957

In the Supreme Court Bak's enemies made continual demands for a revision of his case. Suggestions were even put forward to have him reconfined for the purpose of "scientific observation." His life "was changed into a nightmare. I was constantly called to appear in the Provincial Court. I did not go, however, knowing full well that the whole affair, from beginning to end, was a criminal lawlessness."

Bak appealed to Premier Cyrankiewicz for intervention, and received no answer. He wrote a series of letters to the Office of Complaints and Grievances, and was at last informed that the Premier had taken his case into consideration. This was October, 1956. Bak's status remained unchanged, however, his persecutions unabated. He appealed to Prosecutor-General Kalinowski, then to his successor, Prosecutor-General Rybicki, finally to Minister Kuryluk. There was no response.

Then, abruptly, on November 6, the Writers' Union reinstated him to membership, and he learned that the Poznan Province Prosecutor had withdrawn the motion to have him declared mentally incompetent as far back as July 30. The entire ordeal had been baseless; the particular one of the past three months utterly unnecessary.

Bak refused to rejoin the Writers' Union. Their leadership "had clearly taken advantage of criminal methods. . . . One incautious step on my part would have sufficed to bring this affair to a tragic end. It need not be mentioned that a conscious endeavor to declare anyone mentally incompetent is an attempt to perpetrate civil murder. Under the given conditions, the results might have been even worse. . . . This is the first instance in history of such an attempt being made on the part of writers against a member of their own group.

"As far as I am concerned, I do not consider the case closed, and I await the moment when the Prosecutor-General will finally find the time to terminate it in a proper and legal manner."

The poet is still waiting.

His letter was written in response to an article which condemned the practice of illegality.

(Continued on page 38)

"Girls of the Street"

from *Erdekes Ujsag* (Budapest), March 9, 1957

The following is a verbatim reproduction, complete with original photos, of a survey of prostitution in Budapest taken from a new Hungarian magazine. This post-Revolt publication, which, significantly, took its name from a prewar magazine, is remarkable for its "liberalism" in the coverage of human interest stories, indicating that, so far, the regime has not returned to the dreary journalistic practices of the Stalinist era (see pp. 3-17). The admission, in this particular article, that prostitution is not wholly a function of basic economic relations, is also unorthodox.



"Quiet bargaining under a lamppost."

Erdekes Ujsag (Budapest), March 9, 1957

THEY ARE at their regular place, on the corner of Berkocsis and Vig Streets [in Budapest].

At times there are only two of them; at times more, depending upon how good business is. At opening time there are about eight or ten of them.

They do not stand or walk; they stroll. And each of them has a pocketbook dangling from her arm.

"Come on, young man, I have a nice warm room."

"Come along with me, I know a nice, inexpensive bar."

They use various arguments to entice the men; competition is very keen. Some of them are fairly good-looking, but the majority are old and worn-out. They walked the same streets 15 years ago. Now they return to the same place.

Berkocsis Street has a tradition.

II

IN RECENT years we wanted to believe that, together with the capitalist order, prostitution would disappear.

Dr. Sandor Biro, head of the Health Protection Department of the Kun Street Hospital, smiles at the thought of such naivete.

"Prostitution is not dying out; in fact, there are as many of them now as there were in the past," he says pensively.

"What is the reason for that? Social conditions have been mentioned recently; what is your opinion, Dr. Biro?"

"There is a lot in that. Poverty may induce many to take this course. On the other hand, there are women who live in dire poverty and yet do not become prostitutes. Why not?"

He answers the question himself: "It requires a certain inclination to become a prostitute."

"What is your evidence?"

"Among other things, the fact that most of the prostitutes have a very low level of intelligence."

"Has the situation changed since the October events?"

"Not at all. The only difference is that what was formerly secret prostitution has now come out into the open. The girls have come out into the streets and have become more forward, because they are not as afraid of consequences."

"What is the exact situation?"

"The prostitutes have flooded Vig, Conti and Berkocsis Streets and the cafes . . . which are well known as their headquarters."

"Would you say that growing unemployment has something to do with the growth of prostitution?"

"I have not come across a single such case, so far."

"Are social diseases spreading?"

"There is no change in this respect either. Finding people inflicted with such disease is still the task of the police."



"Stroll into the night."

Erdekes Ujsag (Budapest), March 9, 1957

which is somewhat unfortunate. The prostitutes do not report when they get sick, even though they know that nothing bad will happen to them."

"What do you think of the recent interest focussed on prostitution?"

"I am glad the press called the authorities' attention to facts. The authorities were very busy with other things and the prostitutes thought they had forgotten them."

"What do you think about licensing brothels?"

"I don't approve of it. All over the world, even in the West, there is a strong drive to abolish prostitution. Why should we want to go backward? Prostitution is degradation, and instead of authorizing it, we should stamp it out."

"What is the answer?"

"We must recognize that it will continue secretly, but we must try to find some solution."

III

I SPOKE to Lieutenant M., deputy head of the police department, about prostitution control.

"It is the duty of the police to fight prostitution with rigid controls," [he stated]. "Prostitution is closely connected with criminal conduct and both are the result of loose morals."

"How many prostitutes are there in Budapest?"

"Approximately ten thousand. It is a large number, but not more than it was in the Thirties."

"What is your opinion on licensing brothels?"

"I believe that we were too hasty in closing down all brothels in 1949. On the other hand it would be just as wrong to reopen them. I don't approve of issuing licenses."

"What is the solution then?"

"We must establish the fact that promiscuity on a commercial basis continues to be a criminal offense. But of course the matter is not that simple, for it is hard to prove that a particular prostitute has received payment for her services. The streetwalkers have learned to lie very skillfully; this is part of the business."

"What happens to those who are brought in to the police?"

"First we try to influence them and in many instances we succeed. We have found jobs for many of them. But there are many who just don't want to work. Yet, we are sincere in our efforts to help them; with one hand we educate and we punish only with the other."

"Is punishment effective?"

"If we don't get anywhere with good will, we take them to court. The time they spend in the 'lock-up' is society's gain."

"What is the main concern of the police?"

"To keep them from bothering decent young folk in clubs and other places of amusement. We protect respectable lovers. . . ."



"End of the night."

Erdekes Ujsag (Budapest), March 9, 1957

"Is there reason to expect improvement?"

"Within a few months the number of secret prostitutes will drop by at least 30 percent. But the solution of the problem cannot be the job of the police; it is a social problem. Prostitution is bound to decrease with the raising of living standards."

IV

I ALSO listened to some of the police questioning.

Klara Sz. sits opposite the interrogating officer. She wears a cheap fur coat. Her nails are painted crimson. In the past she used to have a license. At one time she must have been attractive but her profession has prematurely aged her.

"In 1952 I got married and since then I behaved well."

"Then why did you furnish your apartment as a place of assignment?"

She lowers her head and does not answer. Then she says that she does not accept men alone, only couples. Naturally she gets a fee. Now she is weeping. The officer gives her a cigarette.

"My husband will leave me. What will I do? Let me go, don't lock me up. If I have no one to support me I will have to start where I left off."

"Don't you want to work?"

"I would, but I can't. I am very sick. And small wonder," she adds quietly.

Mrs. Sz. is only 22 years old, but she has a police record of two convictions for dangerous loitering.

"How often have you been hauled in by the police?"

"At least 20 times," she answers lightly.

"Where do you usually make your contacts?"

"In the Sport and White Bull restaurants."

"Do you know that the scum of the city hangs out there?"

"I do," she answers thoughtfully.

"You are a public school graduate and you are not a bad looking woman; couldn't you lead a decent life? How much do you get from one client?"

"One hundred forint."

"Of that you have to pay 30 for the room."

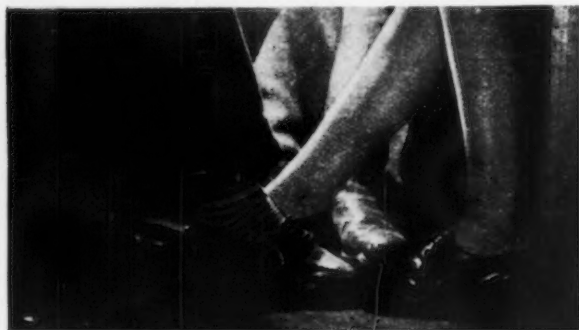
"Yes."

"That means that 70 forint are left. In an evening she can make 400-500 forint. An easy way of making a good sum."

She nods and without a trace of embarrassment she asks for a cigarette.

Irene K., a very pretty blonde, says the following:

"At one time I reformed. I got married. But my husband deserted me; he probably got tired of me."



"Drinks on top and this below."

Erdekes Ujsag (Budapest), March 9, 1957

"Do you think he had a reason?"

"No. I told you I was reformed. He knew about my past. So what could I do? One has to live."

Anna B., a high school graduate, a 21 year-old, dark-haired girl, says sadly:

"I like to go out; I love night-life. Is that a crime? I like men and drink. I love Budapest at night."

Then with a charming smile she says: "I've grown used to all this and don't want to give it up."

V

WHAT IS THE SOLUTION? Each case is different, but one generalization can be made: the social factor is very important.

A large number of these girls like to live well and don't want to work. But they go through the easy money quickly. Sooner or later they end up at the police station and then for a while they are taken out of circulation.

What sort of life is this? Is this an easy life? I don't believe so. Most of their life is spent on street corners and in jail. Society rejects them.

Some of them are inveterate prostitutes; others slipped once and could not stop and continued on the downward path. The first group must be punished, but those in the second group should be pitied. Most of them have no family, they are alone; they should be helped because a large number of them are anxious to reform.

The reform school, which was closed down, should be reopened. There they were taught a trade and I understand the school was a great success. Why was it closed down?

The reopening of brothels would certainly not be a good thing. But a transitory solution should be found. I believe one of the People's Democracies [probably Poland] solved the matter rather satisfactorily. There are no brothels but the women may receive men at their homes. They are also permitted to contact men in public places and in the streets.

A solution should be found also because it would help the fight against venereal disease. In the interest of better control, it has been suggested that hotels for transients be licensed. Would this help? In any case the owners of secret meeting places should be punished more severely.

It is a good thing that we can at least discuss the matter. The complete silence of recent years certainly did not solve the problem.



"What could they be discussing?"

Erdekes Ujsag (Budapest), March 9, 1957

(Continued from page 34)

The editors of *Tygodnik Zachodni*, in a foreword to the letter, while neither accepting nor denying Bak's version of the affair, asked for a "final and public explanation." They went on to say: "Since for years, Wojciech Bak has expressed himself categorically in favor of leaving the country, we believe that matters should be arranged according to his wishes, for it is our opinion that there are no basic reasons why anyone should be forced to remain in a country against his will."

The same issue of the newspaper carried a poem by Bak (written in 1952), two sections of which follow.

I

Those who hit you have hit me,
By those who insult you, I have been insulted—
My breath will breathe in your lungs
The stream of my blood will flow with yours.

And each blow that falls upon you,
Descends with hatred upon my back,
And this same era has lashed me, too,
And this same treason has eaten through my heart.

And our blood pulses in one united flow,
Our voices become as one and begin to rise.
Within me there is daily rising wrath
In your cities and your towns this seething fury lies.

And sad is the murmur of trees and bitter the pavement
Of martyred cities, prisons and stockades—

It echoes the cry of mothers and terror of anxiety—
And the grief of hearts held by chains.

And when defeat follows upon defeat
My angry voice believes in victory unbounded—
Those who hit you have hit me,
By those who insult you—I have been insulted.

And if I fall to die a martyr's death,
Within your victory I shall be given mine—
And each day the song of wrath beats louder
Each day my heroism is more triumphant!

VI

I was given much. Each day I have been followed by time—
My life flows on as if a true detective play—
There is in it the violence of force and legal crime,
There is a murderer, a forger and a thief . . .

There are prosecutors who have raped the law,
And doctors ambitious to cure the healthy—
And writers whose fame has spread and will grow—
Helping the butchers work against humanity.

I have been given the fires' glare and aircrafts' roar
A sea of ruins, prisons, hospitals and camps—
The smoke of burning cities rising over plains,
Days of man-hunts—nights of vindictive dread.

And that smile of welcome for spring's first success
With a poem's scented, faithful, loving caress!

The Elbow Test

"ONCE I VISITED the pharmaceutical works at Tarchomin [Poland]. As you may know, the production of penicillin must take place under definite conditions, including a strictly uniform temperature of 24 to 26 degrees [Centigrade]. One of the workers in the plant told me that for a long time they had been unable to get approval or money for the purchase of thermometers. The application went to the industrial union, then to the central directorate, the Ministry, the State Commission for Economic Planning. It went on for a year and there were no results. When I asked how they managed in the meantime, I was told that they have a fellow there sensitive to temperatures. He tries it with his elbow." From an interview with Franciszek Fabipanski, director of the export division, Polish Ministry of Foreign Trade, as reported in *Przekroj* (Cracow), March 17, 1957.

Current Developments

Area

The Soviet Purge

On July 3, a communique from Moscow announced the most far-reaching shake-up in the Soviet leadership since Stalin's death in 1953. This information, revealing that the highly-publicized system of collective leadership in the Kremlin was no more than a smokescreen to conceal a bitter power struggle, came suddenly, at a time when the Soviets were waging a campaign to restore ideological and political unity to the Satellite bloc countries, disrupted internally and in their relations to the USSR since the Hungarian uprising last fall. The bombshell was dropped in the form of a resolution by the CC of the Soviet Communist Party, which met in plenary session June 22-29. The document represented the victory of Nikita Khrushchev over veteran Communists Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov, who, though widely believed to hold diverse views, were accused of being linked in an "anti-Party" group directed against the Party's political line and "leadership." Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov were removed from the Politburo and the Central Committee; in addition, Dmitri Shepilov, "who joined them," lost his position on the Central Committee, as Central Committee Secretary, and as alternate Politburo member.

The resolution charged the trio with opposing the course outlined by the Twentieth Party Congress of February 1956. They were accused of rejecting policies of "peaceful coexistence between States with different social systems" and of bringing about a relaxation in international

tension. They were also charged with working against the programs of extending the "rights of the Union republics," of reorganizing and decentralizing industry, and of giving material incentives to the collective farm peasantry by abolishing compulsory deliveries from the private plots of collective farmers by the end of 1957. One paragraph of the resolution declared that the trio had carried on an "unwarranted struggle against the Party's appeal to . . . overtake the United States in the next few years in per capita output of milk, butter and meat." This charge was supplemented by the statement that "it cannot be considered accidental that Comrade Molotov, a member of the anti-Party group, who manifested a conservative and narrow-minded attitude, far from realizing the necessity of making use of virgin lands, resisted the raising of 35,000,000 hectares of virgin land."

Molotov also came in for sharp criticism in the field of foreign policy. As former Soviet Foreign Minister, he was accused of opposing measures to improve relations with Yugoslavia, to sign a peace treaty with Austria and to normalize relations with Japan:

"He opposed the fundamental proposition worked out by the Party on the possibility of preventing wars in the present conditions, on the possibility of different ways of transition to Socialism in different countries, on the necessity of strengthening contacts between the Soviet Party and progressive parties abroad. . . . In particular, he denied the advisability of establishing personal contacts between the Soviet leaders and the statesmen of other countries, which is essential for the achievement of mutual understanding and better international relations."

To fill out the picture of "deviation" from Twentieth Congress principles, the trio was accused also of "stubbornly resisting" Party efforts to eliminate "consequences of the personality cult" and violations of "revolutionary law," of being "shackled by old notions and methods," of drifting away from the life of the Party and the country, and of failing to see the "new conditions": "Both in internal problems and in matters of foreign policy, they are



Sovfoto
Soviet leaders before the purge. The picture, taken in April in the Bolshoi Theater, shows (left to right): Shepilov (now purged), Mikoyan, Suslov, Pervukhin, Molotov (now purged), Malenkov (now purged), Kaganovich (now purged) and Khrushchev.

sectarian and dogmatic, and they use a scholastic, inert approach to Marxism-Leninism."

After thus being denounced as "obsolete," the trio, together with Dmitri Shepilov (Molotov's successor as Foreign Minister, who had resigned last February to assume a top cultural post) was attacked for having embarked on the path of "fractionary struggle against the Central Committee" and of working against Party unity. The resolution declared that not a single member of the CC Plenum supported the group. With the exception of Molotov, who refused to approve the resolution, the "anti-Party group" indulged in self-criticism.

Once the explosive resolution had been issued, the denunciations were taken up by all organizations and propaganda voices, and mass meetings were organized throughout the country to "discuss" the CC's decisions. On July 5, the purge of top Party officials continued with the removal of industrial planners Mikhail Pervukhin and Maxim Saburov from their posts as Deputy Premiers. That Khrushchev did not want to intensify uneasiness over a top Party split was indicated by the fact that the dismissals were announced in a terse bulletin which in no way connected the two officials with the activities of the "anti-Party group." Little restraint, however, was used in attacking that ousted quartet. On July 4, Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich were removed from their government posts as Deputy Premiers; Malenkov also lost his job as USSR Minister of Power and Molotov was dismissed as Minister of State Control.*

In a July 6 address in Leningrad commemorating the city's 250th anniversary, Khrushchev denounced Shepilov, his former protege, as a "careerist" and "shameless double dealer." More ominously, he declared that Malenkov would have feared putting in an appearance in Leningrad because he had been one of the chief organizers of the trumped-up Leningrad case of 1949, which resulted in the purge of top Communists in the city. This charge was repeated by Nikolai M. Shvernik, newly promoted member of the CC Presidium, who stated that the Leningrad Case had resulted in the illegal prosecution of Communists. "Putting right the violations of revolutionary legality committed by Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov during the period of mass repression," he said, "the Party Control Committee in 1957 examined a large number of personal cases of former Party members who had been rehabilitated by the judicial bodies. The Party Control Committee has readmitted the majority of them into the Party."

Satellite Reaction

By July 8, it appeared that Khrushchev was firmly in the helm and confident enough to leave the Soviet Union for an official visit to Prague in the company of a somewhat subdued Premier Bulganin (unofficial reports stated

* On July 10, Malenkov was appointed manager of a hydroelectric plant in East Kazakhstan. This move was aimed at showing that none of the dismissed Communists was being persecuted.



Khrushchev being given bread and salt on his entry into Czechoslovakia.

Rude Pravo (Prague), July 10, 1957

that the Premier had failed his famous travelling companion at a crucial moment in the intra-Party struggle). By that time, the Satellite Parties had issued resolutions and statements approving the Soviet "decisions," emphasizing the necessity of absolute Party unity, and condemning the "fractionalist" activity of the "anti-Party group." This display of conformity, however, did not conceal the fact that the Kremlin upheaval had caught the Satellite regimes off guard; although last Fall Tito had spoken openly of a split in top Soviet ranks, it seems probable that the East European leaders were taken unawares. Whereas the Poles (along with the Yugoslavs) hailed the CC resolution as confirmation of the USSR's more liberal policy, the other regimes soft-pedalled implications of "liberalization," obviously fearing that it would be a signal for renewed ferment. Indeed, at a CC meeting in mid-June, the Czechoslovak Party had taken an unequivocal line denouncing pressures for change and had subsequently warned its intellectuals that no criticism of the Party leadership would be tolerated.

Visit to Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovak press paved the way for the Soviet visit by echoing *Pravda's* denunciations of the "anti-Party group" and reaffirming policies of the Twentieth Party Congress. According to *Rude Pravo* (Prague), July 5, these policies included the "elevation of Leninist norms of Party life, the laying down of new perspectives for the peaceful transition of other countries to Socialism, the possibilities of averting wars, and the further successful development of peaceful coexistence among nations." No word was said about internal liberalization, and from the moment Khrushchev crossed the border into Czechoslovakia, it was clear that the visit was to be a testimony to Czechoslovak-Soviet "friendship" as it has particularly developed since the Hungarian uprising last fall.

During a stopover in Zilina, on his way to Prague, the ebullient Khrushchev took note of Czechoslovak "support" in the days of the Hungarian Revolt and in the present Soviet crisis. Referring to the former, he said: "When the counterrevolutionary insurrection broke out in Hungary, our enemies asked themselves more than once: what about the Czechs, the Slovaks? Whom will they support? We all know that our enemies did not count on having their hopes dashed. . . . Their hopes burst like soap bubbles." Khrushchev then spoke about the black sheep in the "good" Soviet flock, remarking: "As the saying goes, we took the sheep by its tail and threw it out. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia fully supported the decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This testifies to the deep friendship between our Parties. . . ."

The theme of friendship was reiterated in Cierna-on-Tisa, where First Party Secretary Antonin Novotny headed a delegation to greet the Soviet leaders. After being kissed on both cheeks by Khrushchev, Novotny expressed his Party's complete agreement with the decisions of the Soviet CC meeting, and indulged in a form of adulation of the USSR that has become habitual with the Czechoslovak leadership: "The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia," Novotny said, "proudly reaffirms its adherence to the great

example of your Party, the most experienced detachment of the international Communist movement and its natural center." Novotny also praised the "great ideas" of the Twentieth Congress and insisted that Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship was of crucial importance in view of the activities of "German militarists and revanchists supported by imperialist circles."

In reply Khrushchev hinted that the recent upheaval would bring about no change in the relations of the two countries. "You came to see us and we have come to see you, not in order to settle any contentious questions or differences, for we are in full agreement. . . . We have been and we are meeting as faithful friends." On July 9, *Rude Pravo* discussed the matter more explicitly. Mindful of the dangers of an upsurge of nationalist feeling, the paper declared that those who expected the visit to bring about changes in Czechoslovakia's relations with the Soviet Union would be disappointed: "The visit cannot have as its aim the beginning of some new stage in the development of these relations. . . . A firm stand alongside the Soviet Union is in the interests of the whole Socialist camp."

Hungary Warns Against Revisionism

The Hungarian regime also attempted to prevent the Soviet shake-up from disturbing the jittery domestic *status quo*. Still confronted by the devastating effects of the national uprising last Fall, the Kadar government greeted the resolution as confirmation of its so-called middle-of-the-road policy between Stalinism and revisionism, and warned "revisionist circles" not to attempt to "exploit" the Soviet decisions.

On July 5, Radio Budapest, while approving the Soviet resolution, tended to accord the "anti-Party" group relatively mild treatment. "It is certain," the commentator said, "that it was not an easy decision to push aside well-proven old militants, such as Molotov The Soviet Union, however, does not pursue . . . and cannot pursue a personality policy. The experiences of the last phase of Stalin's life provide a very emphatic warning about the grave dangers involved in such a policy." A day earlier, on July 4, *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), in a commentary on the Soviet decisions, expressed fears of a revisionist revival:

"The resolution of . . . the Soviet CP will . . . help our Party fight the still existing dogmatic mistakes and sectarian tendencies. It is possible [however] that certain revisionist elements in Hungary will try to use the Soviet resolution to justify or even strengthen their revisionist tendencies. We must take a determined stand against all attempts to create such ideological confusion."

Hungarian Politburo member Gyorgy Marosan adopted the same line. In a July 6 address to a Party activists' meeting in Budapest Marosan said that the Soviet resolution showed that the Soviet CC was "determined to enforce the resolutions of the Twentieth Party Congress. It is not willing to deviate from this line—either to the right or to the left." Declaring that the "past" could not be

revived and that the Hungarian Communist Party would not tolerate any sort of factionalism, Marosán turned to the question of revisionism:

"There will be some among us who will try to read into the resolution the justification of right-wing views and revisionist tendencies. Such ideas must be firmly rejected because they are similar to those which drove us to October 23 and which made our country the victim of a bloody counterrevolution.

"We warn these elements that the October events have taught us that tolerance is out of place in face of the enemy. We will not permit discussions within the Party to be diverted into channels favorable to the enemy. . . . We shall be relentless in our efforts to protect the peaceful existence of the people. No one must count on our country's being used as some sort of guinea pig. . . .

"We also realize that foreign radio stations will use the Soviet events to create unrest in the country. In fact, they already have started to do so. . . . Our message to them is: . . . The Hungarian people do not want to experience another October 23, and we shall see to it that this will not take place." (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], July 7)

Poles React Hopefully

In Poland, the reaction to the Soviet resolution was optimistic; the press greeted the changes as a sign of Soviet liberalization and as confirmation of Poland's "road to Socialism." Most of the commentaries on the subject placed stress on Polish independence, while others saw in the Soviet decisions a signal to halt the present campaign against the so-called revisionist elements in the Polish Party.

In approving the decisions, *Trybuna Ludu*, July 4, adopted a somewhat condescending attitude towards the Soviet Party in sharp distinction to the adulatory hymns to the CPSU from elsewhere in the area:

"The ideas which found expression in the resolution of the Plenum are . . . a sign of the struggle for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism. These are the same ideas which guide the Communist Party of China, contributing to the theory and practice of world Socialism. These same ideals guide our Party, pointing out the Polish road to Socialism."

On the same date, the Polish Peasant Party organ *Dziennik Ludowy* called the decision a blow to "Polish conservatives and dogmatists," while *Zycie Warszawy* declared that last October Poland had chosen the road the Soviet Party is now following. The paper added that the Soviet decision would strengthen Polish-Soviet ideological unity, which can be attained only if "old, stiff, conservative methods of political action are discarded." *Zycie Warszawy* concluded that the resolution would have a "life-saving influence on the rebirth and growth of the liberal forces of Socialism."

Glos Pracy, July 4, commented in a similar vein. The paper saw in the decision "a very necessary confirmation . . . of the new policy towards the countries of Socialism, initiated in the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration [of two years ago]." The Polish press also ran articles describing the conflict over economic policy between Khrushchev and the

"anti-Party group," and on July 8, Radio Warsaw, after stating that the decisions of the Soviet CC would facilitate the elimination of obstacles on the road to peaceful co-existence, discussed Molotov's opposition to stepping up production of meat, milk and butter on the grounds that people would lose interest in heavy industrial goals:

"We Poles know very well what it means in practice to put too much stress on heavy industry. Of course, nobody in Poland would like to have a country without heavy industry . . . but thinking about it exclusively . . . means neglecting light industry and agriculture. We have experienced such neglect in Poland, with very bad results."

Romania

The first announcement of Romania's own purge (see p. 44) coincided with the Soviet Central Committee resolution. Romanian propaganda organs hailed the Soviet changes in routine terms, but gave them considerably less prominence than did the other countries in the area, concentrating instead on discussions of their own CC resolution and denunciations of the purged Constantinescu and Chisinevski.

Bulgaria

The first reaction in Bulgaria followed a relatively orthodox course. The Party press reprinted the *Pravda* editorials on the Soviet decisions, and on July 5, *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia) printed an article declaring that: "Our Party and



Behind the man with the scythe is the current slogan of Chinese "liberalism": "Let a hundred flowers bloom. Let a hundred schools of thought contend!"

Polityka (Warsaw), June 11, 1957

Polish Poet Dies



Leopold Staff, renown Polish poet, who died on May 31 of this year. On this page is one of his verses, reprinted in the Polish press after his death.

Photo from *Tygodnik Demokratyczny* (Warsaw), June 11, 1957

our people have always learned, are learning at present, and will continue to learn from the great Party of Lenin, from the first Socialist country in the world—the Soviet Union.” On July 4, Radio Sofia approved the Soviet resolution and the principles of the Twentieth Congress, and after describing the “perfidious” activities of Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich, stated:

“Since the Twentieth Congress, the enemies of peace and Socialism have tried to make use of the struggle against the cult of the individual for their criminal intentions and diabolical aims. There is no doubt that again and with greater fury they will now attempt to use . . . the latest decision of the CPSU CC. This decision has just been published and already the hostile radio stations have begun their malicious slanders. With similar fury our contemporary revisionists will deal with this subject. But, just as in the past, they will fail. . . . Their malicious talk will not confuse us; their efforts will be futile.”

Less than two weeks after the Soviet purge, Bulgaria announced the ouster of three top regime figures, including First Deputy Premier Georgi Chankov (see page 56).

Comecon Meets

The task of re-integrating the East European economies—made necessary by last fall's uprising in Hungary and the new policies being pursued by Poland—was the chief concern of a session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance held in Warsaw, June 18-22. The session was attended by representatives from Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR. Observers were present from China, Yugoslavia and North Korea. According to a report broadcast by Radio Warsaw on June 24, the members reviewed the work done at the previous session held in Berlin in May 1956 in light of “the fact that various member States of the Council have introduced certain changes in their national economic plans,” and drew up new “recommendations” for the years 1957 to 1960. The new measures were concerned with “assuring to the national economies of the member States . . . coal, oil, oil products, metallurgical coke, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, as well as other important products.” The session also discussed “the further development of the fuel and power base of the member States. . . .”

The problem of Polish coal exports occupied an important place on the agenda. The coal-starved Satellites have undertaken to finance an expansion of the Polish coal industry:

“The session emphasized with satisfaction that an agreement has been reached between Poland and the German Democratic Republic concerning cooperation during the construction in Poland of brown coal collieries, and also received with approval the statements of other States concerned on their readiness to carry out bilateral negotiations concerning their participation in the development of the coal mining industry in Poland.”

The delegates also agreed to work out long-range development plans, covering 10 to 15 years, for “fundamental branches” of their economies, and to coordinate these plans through the Council. Two sentences at the end of the report revealed that “an agreement was signed on multi-lateral clearing between the member States of the Council. This agreement will favor the further broadening of trade between the Socialist countries.” The report did not elaborate on the nature of the payments agreement; it appears to be a novelty in East Europe's commercial relations.

Tranquil Thoughts

by Leopold Staff

from *Swiat* (Warsaw), June 9, 1957

Tranquil thoughts, unfurrowed brow
Are mine each day and at holiday time.
And what do you do, when all around
You see damnable wrongs and crimes?
When all around rage powers of darkness,
Traitorous hearts, souls of deceit,
I laugh in anger and sing in bitterness.
How easy it is. How difficult it is.

Romania

Party Purge

At a plenary session of the Party's CC, June 28-July 3, two veteran Communists, Miron Constantinescu and Iosif Chisinevski were removed from the Party's Politburo; Chisinevski was also dismissed from his post as Secretary of the Party CC. *Scinteia* (Bucharest), July 4, made only brief mention of the ousters, but on July 9, after the Soviet purge of Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov had echoed and re-echoed through the orbit, brevity was abandoned in favor of a long Romanian Party CC resolution denouncing the "anti-Party activities" of the two Romanians. Although the Romanian Party resolution closely (and obviously not accidentally) followed the outlines of the Soviet purge resolution (see p. 39), it did not link the two Communists with the Soviet "anti-Party group." Furthermore, it differed from the Soviet resolution in that it contained charges reminiscent of those directed against Jewish Party leaders purged in the Stalinist era, and traced the "deviation" of the two men to their association with former Romanian Party leader Ana Pauker. In view of the fact that Chisinevski is of Jewish origin and Constantinescu's wife is Jewish, it is more than likely that the frequent use of the word "petty-bourgeois" in the resolution was meant to link these two men with "Jewish cosmopolitanism."

The resolution accused Constantinescu and Chisinevski of crimes of conflicting tendencies: of "dogmatism," "liberalism," "misinterpretation" of the program of the Twentieth Soviet Party Congress, and of advocating a policy which would have weakened "Party unity and militancy." One section of the document stated that:

"The dangerous orientation [that Constantinescu and Chisinevski] aimed at giving the discussion within our Party of the documents of the Twentieth . . . Congress—an orientation opposite to that established by the CC plenum of March 1956—would have created confusion in the Party's ranks, weakened Party unity and fighting capacity, given free reign to the petty bourgeois threat, and undermined the policy of the Party and the State. In this respect, the events in Hungary are full of lessons. . . .

"Lacking a sense of Party responsibility, they at the same time aimed their attacks against the State Security organs. If the Party's leadership had not rejected their attacks, they would have resulted . . . in the compromising and paralyzing of these organs whose task it is to fight against enemies of the people's democratic regime. The plenum harshly condemned . . . their distortion and denigration of the Party's activities."

The resolution further accused the two men of violating democratic centralism within the Party, of remaining silent on the subject of the "fractionalist action of the Pauker-Luca clique," of working closely with Ana Pauker after 1944 and building a "personality cult" around her and of "evading the fact" that the "anti-Party group" hurt many basic Party cadres by suppressing criticism and exerting pressures to "bring about measures and stage trials against them." As the former editor-in-chief of *Scinteia*, and later as head of the organizational section of the CC, Constantinescu was charged with having "uncritically applied to the letter Ana Pauker's directives . . . which he considered as law although in most cases these directives were issued above the heads of the Party leadership." Constantinescu was also found guilty of serious mistakes in economic

For Outstanding Merit

Iosif Chisinevski, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, was awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labour by the Presidium of the RFR Grand National Assembly on the occasion of his 50th birthday, for his long and fruitful activity in the revolutionary movement and for outstanding merit in the establishment and consolidation of the people's democratic State.

Our picture shows Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary, Central Committee, Rumanian Workers' Party, warmly congratulating the new Hero of Socialist Labour.



The picture and caption above appeared in *Rumania Today* (Bucharest), January 1956. Chisinevski (right) has now been removed from the Politburo in the wake of the Soviet purges.

Purged: Iosif Chisinevski

Born in 1905, the son of an impoverished Jewish family in Balti, Bessarabia, Chisinevski became active in the Communist Youth Union in 1923. In 1928, he joined the Communist Party and became a youth organizer among workers. Between 1930-38, he was sent to prison twice, and after being released a second time became a member of the clandestine General Council of United Trade Unions, and was reportedly sent to Moscow. In 1941, he was arrested again and sentenced to 25 years at hard labor. Released after the Communist coup in 1944, he was Chairman of the Agitprop Commission from 1945-48. In 1946, he was appointed a member of the managing board of *Scinteia*; in 1948 he was elected to the Politburo and named a Party CC member. From March 1950 to October 1955, he was a Deputy Premier, and in December 1955, he was named a "Hero of Socialist Labor."

planning:

"While he worked in the national economy, Comrade Miron Constantinescu . . . was often criticized for presenting unrealistic solutions and for working out proportions which did not correspond with the necessities of the development of the economy and culture. For these mistakes, he was removed from the post of chairman of the State Planning Commission."

In addition, Constantinescu was accused of "accumulating personal grudges" as a result of previous criticism directed at him, of showing a "sickly petty-bourgeois state of mind," of using "unprincipled methods alien to the Party," and of showing "petty-bourgeois haughtiness, conceit and arrogance in his relations with others." Similarly, Chisinevski was accused of opening the Party's gates to "Fascist, alien elements, to petty-bourgeois elements," and of violating Party unity and discipline as far back as 1934. The resolution declared that both men had taken a position which "led to liberalism":

"Their anti-Party outburst represents a reflection of the distorted interpretation of the decisions of the Twentieth . . . Congress by anarchic petty-bourgeois elements in our country and other countries. This refers, before everything else, to the problems of Party life and of the people's democratic regime. . . .

"Although sufficient time has passed since the April 1956 session of the Politburo, Comrades . . . Chisinevski and . . . Constantinescu have not understood the seriousness of their anti-Party position in the light of the international events which have taken place during this period of time. . . . In front of the plenum they admitted their mistakes and grave violations but they did not make a profound analysis [of them] or point out their causes and roots."

By July 13, Radio Bucharest announced that Constantinescu had been deprived of all his posts in the government. Constantinescu, who was a Deputy Premier and Minister of Culture and Education, will be succeeded in the latter post by Atanase Jolya. On July 15, the regime removed

from the post of Foreign Minister Grigore Preoteasa (a half-Jew), who had become Deputy Foreign Minister when Ana Pauker took over the Foreign Ministry. He was replaced by Gheorghe Maurer, regarded as a friend of former Minister of Justice Patrascanu, a "national Communist" executed two years ago for plotting a "counter-revolution."

Hungary

Party Conference

A National Conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' (Communist) Party took place June 27-29 in Budapest. Its tone was anticipated on the first day of the meeting by an editorial in *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), the official Party newspaper, which called for "complete liquidation of revisionist, class-betraying, anti-Party opinions. . . . Factional aloofness from the masses, conceit, careerism, and other mischief-making which raises its head here and there, must also be removed from the growing life of the Party."

Party chief Janos Kadar addressed the assemblage on June 27. His speech, printed in *Nepszabadsag* the following day, commenced with an "analysis" in which he praised the "proper" attitude of the Party leadership toward the workers from 1943 to 1948 and criticized, though not very strongly, the regime hierarchy of 1948-1953 for paying insufficient attention to the wants of the workers. He then attacked Imre Nagy, claiming that during the latter's first Premiership, beginning in June 1953, it was the Central Committee and not Nagy who had revealed the faults in Party practice. Nagy's aim, Kadar averred, "was to weaken, not to restore and enhance the prestige of the

Purged: Miron Constantinescu

Born in 1917 in Buzau, Moldavia, to middle-class parents, Constantinescu entered the Communist Youth Union at the age of eighteen. In 1938, he received his B.A. from Bucharest University and two years later, his Ph.D. During this time, he was active as Secretary of the Communist Youth Union in Bucharest and Galati, and in 1941 was arrested and sentenced to ten years imprisonment for Communist activities. Freed after the August 1944 Communist coup, he became Secretary of the CP in Bucharest and in 1945 a member of the Party Central Committee. From 1946-48, he held the post of managing editor of *Scinteia*, the official Party newspaper, and in February 1948 was elected a member of the Party Politburo. In April 1948, he was appointed Minister of Mines and Petroleum; in 1949 Chairman of the State Planning Commission; in 1950 a Deputy Premier and member of the CC Organization Bureau; in 1952 a member of the CC Secretariat. He was dismissed as chief of the State Planning Commission in October 1955 and appointed a First Deputy Premier. In October 1956, he was made Minister of Culture and Education.

Party and the people's power. Another unpleasant fact of the period was that some functionaries, headed by Matyas Rakosi [then Party head] were utterly unable to break away from their old errors. . . . Thus, by the Spring of 1956, there was deep and justified bitterness among the Party membership and the majority of the country's working people."

Referring to the period of the Revolt (October 23-November 4), Kadar characterized the revolutionaries as "imperialists, Horthy Fascists, the right-wing bourgeois parties, the right-wing Social Democrats . . . together with youths with confused minds and a certain number of misled workers. That force would never have gained the upper hand, if there had not been treachery in the Imre Nagy leadership. . . . Although the cause of Socialist revolution was victorious, the victory is not secure, because a significant proportion of the enemy's forces is still intact. . . . Discipline still leaves much to be desired. Complacency . . . is the main danger."

Social Democratic Danger

In comparison with the speeches of some of his underlings which followed, Kadar's address contained few threats of punishment to "counterrevolutionaries." The Party boss contented himself with warnings that "justice must be severe but just," and left the details to his subordinates.

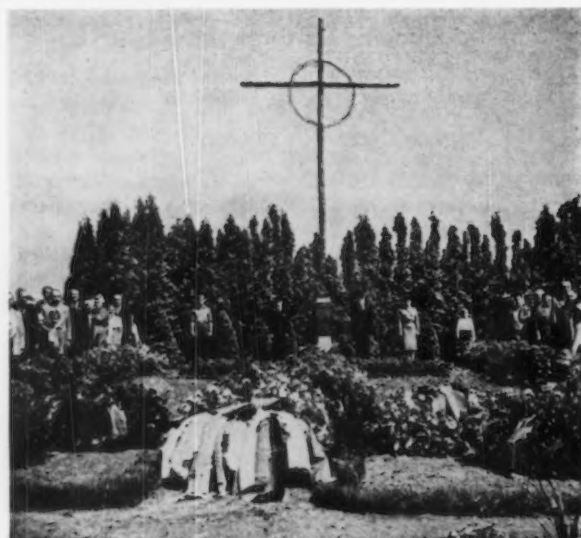
Kadar particularly stressed "how great would have been the danger, if the attempt to split the working class by creating a Social Democratic Party had been successful." This comment was undoubtedly aimed at those of his countrymen who had been impressed by the spontaneous rejuvenation of non-Communist parties during the Revolt; apparently even such puppet parties as those in Czechoslovakia cannot be contemplated on the contemporary Hungarian political scene.

Advocating greater development of the People's Patriotic Front, the combination of Party-dominated mass organizations which had gone into eclipse in the first months of the Kadar regime, the Party chief contrasted the comparatively small number of Communist Party members in the country (approximately 350,000) with the 1,900,000 trade union members. He espoused the necessity of Party members working in the mass organizations, "for the majority of the working class are members of the trade unions but not of the Party. This is also true of the youth and of women."

Eventual Collectivization Drive

Touching on economic problems, Kadar said that industrial production and worker productivity were approximately 95 percent of last year's; real wages, he claimed, were up fifteen percent since the Revolt. On agricultural questions, Kadar saw the "greatest need" to increase production, less need to revive collectivization. "When peasant opinion settles down, it may be hoped that—after the recent setback, and after two or three years have passed—there will again be a favorable atmosphere for the development of the collectivization movement."

Kadar dealt rather gingerly with the future of the workers' councils. "Their situation is ambiguous. The road



"Common grave of the victims of the Lidice tragedy. Young miners, members of the Czechoslovak Youth League and Pioneers form the guard of honor." The ceremonies marked the fifteenth anniversary of the Lidice massacre.

Svet v Obrazech (Prague), June 22, 1957

traveled by them thus far is not very promising. They were used . . . in the interests of the counterrevolution. What is to be the right procedure now . . . ? Our opinion must be worked out shortly."

Speaking of the problems of cultural and scientific life, Kadar had only one main point to make: namely, the danger of revisionism among intellectuals, some of whom were "counterrevolutionaries and must be punished. Very many, however, made mistakes, and these must be helped along the right road." Youth too must be "helped," the Party leader pointed out, "because for a long time very little was done for them." But youth also owes a debt, he said, for "it has failed to accord the Party and the adult generation the respect and appreciation due for those great achievements, which were gained for youth by the struggle of the Party, the people, and the people's power. We must remind our young people of this debt of theirs." It was, of course, the youth and the intellectuals of the country who sparked the Revolt.

Following Kadar to the lectern was Politburo member Gyorgy Marosan who reported on the new Party statutes (*Nepszabadsag*, June 29). He made a limited defense of the pre-Revolt Communist Party, the Hungarian Workers' Party (MDP), which "committed sectarian and dogmatic errors" but also achieved "great results" and must be protected against "its slanderers, the enemies of Socialism. . . . The MSZMP (post-Revolt Party) has learned its lessons from previous errors. Our membership will not be as large as that of the MDP . . . but will be clearer, more united. . . . The Central Committee should rather dissolve some Party organizations than allow disruption of Party unity from within. . . ."

Voluntary Resignation

Marosan brought up a new departure in the field of Party recruitment and disaffiliation: "In the future we shall admit to the Party only those who voluntarily apply. We shall also grant the candidate member the right to quit of his own volition. One could not quit the MDP. The member who declared that he wanted to leave the organization was expelled. In many instances this meant the shameful branding of otherwise honest people. In other cases, individuals remained in the Party to avoid public expulsion. Thus the number of passive and indifferent elements grew."

Zoltan Komocsin, Communist Youth League leader, spoke on the afternoon of June 27 of the development of his organization, KISZ, which, after three months of existence, has 120,000 members in 4,000 groups in "every important enterprise." (Radio Budapest, June 29.)

Nepszabadsag, June 29, carried the text of a speech by Jozsef Revai, a Communist theoretician of strongly "Stalinist" leanings. He made a violent attack against revisionism and a very weak attack on Rakosi's policies. "We must distinguish between counterrevolutionary treason on the one hand, and faults committed in the course of building Socialism, on the other," he said.

On June 29 Radio Budapest quoted Bela Biszku, Minister of the Interior, in a few typical security police pleasuries: "We must annihilate the headquarters of the counterrevolutionary organization. The enemy is a Horthyite, a dissident, a petit-bourgeois . . . hostile to the Party . . . following American directives. It would be as great a mistake to exaggerate his strength as to underestimate it."

The Minister of National Defense, Geza Revesz, stated at the June 29 session that the army had been reorganized and that "the backbone of the officers' corps was those who stood their ground honestly during the past difficult period." (Radio Budapest, June 30.)

Kadar spoke again on June 29 and picked up a few points he had missed during his first speech, reiterated a few others. "We must fight not only against revisionism, but against the conciliatory spirit toward revisionism," he said. He also advised the youth organization, KISZ, to be less choosy in picking its members, taking not merely the "most enlightened," but also "the enlightened." (*Nepszabadsag*, June 30.)

Party Resolution

The Conference issued a Party Resolution which led off with a "study" of the Revolt. It denounced "American imperialists . . . who keep the so-called 'Hungarian question' on the UN agenda in order to support the counterrevolutionary forces in our country and to interfere in our internal affairs. . . . The Soviet Union acted as a true friend [during the Revolt] . . . granting the assistance which had been requested, helping to defeat the imperialist forces. . . ." The document continued in this familiar vein at some length, fulminating against all the oft-repeated bogey-men of the Revolt.

The Resolution reiterated the words of all the previous

speakers. Revisionism was clouted, "Rakosiism" slapped. Dim views were taken of erring intellectuals, erring youth, erring peasants, but all were to be "helped along the right path," unless they happened to be "counterrevolutionary criminals and murderers." Vigilance was advocated; so were compulsory classes in Marxism-Leninism in the universities and high schools.

Kadar's recommendation of a revival for the People's Patriotic Front was enthusiastically repeated, as were his "go-slow" pronouncements on farm collectivization. The basic principle of the Party's economic policy was said to "require a correct economic management and realistic planning which takes into account the country's resources, lays great emphasis on economy, and promotes production by means of material incentives. . . . The process of Socialist industrialization—and within this, the development of heavy industry to an extent necessary in our country—must be continued." Thus the regime left open the door to a policy of lessened consumer consumption which, at present, they cannot risk adopting.

Statistics on Party membership were presented. There are now 345,733 men and women on the rolls, it was claimed, only 40 percent of the pre-Revolt figure. Of these 57.9 percent are workers; 16.7 percent are peasants; 6.9 percent are intellectuals; the balance of the membership "belong to other categories." 85.2 percent were in the pre-Revolt Party (*Nepszabadsag*, June 30).

On June 29, Radio Budapest listed the new Politburo which was increased by one regular and two alternate members. Regulars are Antal Apro, Bela Biszku, Lajos Feher, Jeno Fock, Janos Kadar, Gyula Kallai, Karoly Kiss, Gyorgy Marosan, Ferenc Munnich, Sandor Ronai, and Miklos Somogyi. Alternates are Zoltan Komocsin and Dezso Nemes. The last three named are new to the group. The Central Committee's Secretariat remained unchanged with Janos Kadar as First Secretary over Jeno Fock, Gyula Kallai, Karoly Kiss, and Gyorgy Marosan.

A week after the conference, Gyorgy Marosan summed up the results, and two days later, July 7, Radio Budapest reported his speech. Again it was mostly repetition of the major danger of revisionism and minor danger of "sectarian left-wing errors." The extreme "Stalinist" economic views of Jozsef Revai (presumably stressing heavy industrialization) however, were, according to Marosan, "disapproved by the conference."

Party Branch Dissolved

Hungarian Central Committee authorities have dissolved the Communist Party branch at the Faculty of Law in the Lorand Eotvos University in Budapest. During the Revolt, this department of the university was a center of armed activities led by the youth organization, MEFESZ, and the Petofi Circle of anti-Stalinist intellectuals. According to a dispatch in *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), June 20, "elements alien to the Communist Party, as well as revisionists, are present in the branch and in its leadership. They have formed a faction called the 'Socialist group.' . . . It is common knowledge that counterrevolutionary elements within the Faculty of Law, who took a considerable

part in the events of October and November, had not, until quite recent weeks, been brought to task; what is more, more than one or two had kept their chairs."

The branch will be reorganized by the Budapest Party Central Committee.

Continued Repression

The drive to punish leading freedom fighters who took part in the Revolt continued. Radio Budapest reported on June 9 that in the Gyor-Sopron district a "five-member group of counterrevolutionaries" has been jailed for terms up to eight years. The following day the same source reported the conviction of "the 13 Mosonmagyaróvár counterrevolutionaries." Six of these received death sentences, including Lajos Gulyas, pastor of the Reformed Church in the village of Level, Professor Arpad Tihanyi, and Gabor Foldes, first producer of the Gyor Theater. Some of the performers in Foldes' company may have been affected by the announcement appearing in all Budapest papers, June 7, that "actors who adopted a reprehensible attitude during the counterrevolution and the period immediately following have been forbidden to perform for periods ranging from six months to one year."

The arrest of a former police captain, Andras Tompa, was announced over Radio Budapest, June 8. "Tompa organized an armed counterrevolutionary battalion which attacked the building of the secret police [in Heves County] and took away the arms which they found there."

The Budapest law court sentenced to death Zsigmond Sipos and "two accomplices" who were charged with the assassination of a security forces major and who had allegedly planned an armed uprising for March 15 (Radio Budapest, June 20 and 22).

Regime authorities bowed at last to world-wide public opinion and granted stays of execution to Gyula Obersovszky and Jozsef Gali. The two writers had been handed brief prison terms at their trial for "counterrevolutionary activities" in April, but the Supreme Court subsequently raised their punishments to sentences of death. So strong and so numerous were the protests from outside Hungary, however, that it has been decided to return the cases to the Supreme Court for another review. Obersovszky and Gali were accused of being members of the Ilona Toth group during the October Revolt. Miss Toth and three of her co-defendants were executed on June 28.

An anonymous commentator over Radio Budapest, June 11, minimized the number of death sentences which have been passed since the October Revolt. There have been 89, according to the broadcast, not 5,000 to 6,000, as estimated by Western observers. However, "we would not be ashamed of admitting having had to sentence to death even 5,000 counterrevolutionary murderers. But the overwhelming majority of the leaders and perpetrators of the October bloody excesses are in the West today."

Regime "Appeals" for Grain

Hungarian peasants, freed from compulsory deliveries since the Revolt, are nevertheless being subjected to "appeals" to sell their bread grain to the State only, rather

than to private purchasers who would doubtless pay higher prices. Radio Budapest, June 22, "explained" that farmers should "offer their surplus grain to the State buying agencies so as to support the government's measures which abolished the compulsory surrender system and to secure the country's bread supply. The government expects every peasant to meet his civic obligations without fail."

Reactions to UN Report on the Revolt

Abuse, ridicule, and counter-charge greeted the publication of the UN Subcommittee report on the Hungarian Revolt in all the countries of the Soviet orbit, except Poland, where Radio Warsaw, June 22, gave a brief and objective summary. The broadcast detailed the main theses of the report, namely, that the uprising was not instigated by foreign "imperialists" and native "reactionaries" and that the Soviet Union did brutally suppress a national uprising.

Typical of Satellite comment was a broadcast over Radio Berlin (East Germany), June 24, which selected quotations out of context from the report and juxtaposed them with press and wire service accounts from Communist sources. Radio Moscow on June 22 called the Subcommittee "an unlawful commission set up by a group of Western countries camouflaged by the UN flag." Three days later the same source spoke of the report as "a crude forgery. . . a lie. . . drawn up under the supervision of Fascist [Alsing] Anderson."

The fulminations of the regime press in Hungary fulfilled expectations. A diatribe against the report in the Party organ, *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), June 23, included charges that Social Democratic leader Anna Kethly was "a common police spy of the Horthy rulers" and General Bela Kiraly "just a common climber." Both Kiraly and Miss Kethly had been questioned by the Subcommittee. Noel Field, renegade US citizen, imprisoned (1949) then "rehabilitated" (1954) by Hungarian authorities, was quoted in denunciation of the report and praise of the Kadar regime.

On June 22, an exhibition entitled "The Hungarian Counterrevolution of October 23 to November 4" opened in the Museum of Contemporary History in Budapest. It contains various articles and documents which purport

Question by Mr. Farquhar of Reuters: "The Foreign Ministry and the Hungarian press severely criticize the report presented to the United Nations about events in Hungary. Will the report be published in Hungary?"

Answer by spokesman of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "I have spoken of this question in detail on the radio. All I wish to add is that I do not think the report will be published here. There would be no sense whatsoever in spreading such a collection of lies over our country at State expense." (Radio Budapest, June 29.)

"Dreamer"



A Polish delegate returning from the United States after signing the recent trade agreement is accosted by a black market operator: "Dollars, I buy dollars. . . ."

Szpilki (Warsaw), June 23, 1957

to prove the responsibility of "Western imperialists" for the Revolt.

Expulsion from Collectives

At the Conference of the Producers Cooperative (i.e., agricultural collective) Council, June 25-26, in Budapest, Chairman Istvan Dobi announced that "disorderly elements" had been expelled from the collective farms, and certain others, who had left the kolkhozes voluntarily and now wished to return, had been denied readmission. All had been "instigators of discontent and trouble." (Radio Budapest, June 25.) The remainder of Dobi's report consisted of optimistic generalities, forecasting good health for Hungarian collective agriculture, which had been so badly shaken during the Revolt.

Demand US Attache Be Recalled

On June 20, Radio Budapest broadcast the contents of a note presented that day to the United States Charge d'Affaires, asking the recall of Colonel Welwyn F. Dallam, Jr., US Air Attache in Budapest. According to the note, the colonel had been "very active during the counter-revolution." The note stated that "he went to the premises of the national air defense and air force command on

November 2, 1956, and asked for information of a military character from officers there." Colonel Dallam was to leave by June 26.

Bulgarian Visit

Conferences with a delegation of Bulgarian Party and government leaders culminated in a joint statement, signed in Budapest, June 10. First Secretary Todor Zhivkov and Premier Anton Yugov led the visiting group. The statement, broadcast over Radio Budapest, June 11, showed the two regimes in agreement on the Hungarian "counterrevolution," indicted both "revisionism and dogmatism" with the accent markedly on the former, and saluted the Soviet Union as the leader of "the Socialist camp." "In countries engaged in building Socialism" the document stated, "the working class, allied with the working peasantry in the Communist Party . . . can tolerate no anti-Party activities whatsoever in their ranks."

The seven billion ruble credit allotted Hungary by Bulgaria after the Revolt was duly noted, as was a 25 million leva aid grant.

Poland

Gomulka Visits East Germany

In an effort to improve deteriorated Polish-East German relations, Wladyslaw Gomulka led an entourage of Party and government officials to Berlin for a conference with leaders of the German Communist regime, June 18-20. The meeting posed many diplomatic difficulties. East German criticism of the Polish liberalization in which Gomulka came to power and differences over interpretation of the Hungarian Revolt have created considerable inter-Party friction. German non-fulfillment of promised deliveries of machines and equipment for Polish industry, and unsettled transit fees for rail traffic between East Germany and the Soviet Union have further heightened tensions.

The conference was held on two levels, Party and governmental, and separate joint statements were issued. First Party Secretary Walter Ulbricht and Premier Otto Grotewohl signed for the Germans, Party chief Gomulka and Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz for the Poles. The joint Party statement expressed East German acceptance of Poland's "road to Socialism"; it also stressed the determination of both countries to struggle against "revisionist as well as dogmatic distortions." The Parties united "in the common cause of building Socialism, the common idea of Marxism-Leninism." They opposed weakening the East European world "by aiding in the spread of anti-Soviet propaganda," but also acknowledged China's influence "far beyond the continent of Asia."

The joint government statement approved the present Oder-Neisse boundary line as "the essential element of permanent peace in Europe," and, in a passage aimed at West Germany, which has not acknowledged Polish possession of the Western Territories, condemned "the remilitarization of the German Federal Republic [as] a threat to peace."

No Mention of Hungary

There were meaningful omissions from both statements. No mention was made of Hungary; the positions of the two Parties are apparently still irreconcilable, with the Poles refusing to join the Satellite chorus denouncing the Revolt as a Fascist counterrevolution. The familiar line about "the leading role of the Soviet Union" was also prominent by its absence. Again, this would appear to be a German concession, for the East German regime has been as subservient to the Soviet Union as any in the area.

Results of the economic discussions were not published, but it is probable that Gomulka did not leave altogether empty-handed. His visit, which had been urged upon him by both Moscow and Peiping, brought a rapprochement—publicly, at least—between the most independent of the countries in the Soviet orbit and the Satellite which had been Poland's most petulant defamer.

Warsaw Party Conference

Clashes between "Stalinists" and the centrist Gomulka faction marked the Warsaw City Communist Party Conference, June 24-27. Polish Party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka had to exert his full prestige to secure the narrow victory of Wladyslaw Jarosinski for re-election to the First Secretaryship of the Warsaw Party. The latter, after stressing the important role played by Gomulka followers during the October events in helping to "liquidate all attempts to stir up trouble and disorganization," saw at present, "a worrisome discrepancy between vast support of the people's masses for the political line of the Party, and organizational difficulties, such as passiveness, a lessening of authority and a weakening of the leading role of many Party branches and executives." (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw] June 25.)

The "Stalinist" group attacked the Gomulka farm policy which has led to agricultural decollectivization, and placed the blame for the pre-October "mistakes" on some members of the new Politburo, naming, among others, Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz and Agriculture Minister (and former Party leader) Edward Ochab. Pointing to the anti-Semitism of the "Stalinist" faction was their denunciation of the Politburo's only Jew, Roman Zambrowski.

Policy Statements

Two important expositions of regime thinking on current internal and international problems appeared in the June issue of the Communist Party Central Committee monthly publication, *Nowe Drogi* (Warsaw). The first of the articles was by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Naszkowski, who was one of the select group accompanying Gomulka on his trip to Berlin. The second was by Wlodzimierz Sokorski, Polish radio programming chief. Naszkowski expressed the disquiet increasingly being voiced by the centrist Gomulka faction of the Party at the degree of intellectual freedom aimed for by sections of the Party and press, and at so-called revisionist attempts to envision Poland as a "third force" between Soviet Communists and the West:

"The licentiousness of revisionist and liberal-bourgeois tendencies in many settings, including, unfortunately, sections of the Party, has revealed the impact and pressure of bourgeois elements on the weaker links of the working masses, especially the youth, and, to some extent, even the working class. Reflected also is the pressure of revisionist circles . . . to interpret our foreign policy as a peculiar kind of 'integral democracy' in international relations; that is, the denial that we function from a Socialist position, and not from a balance between Socialism and capitalism. We steer toward a rapprochement with those forces who are anxious for it, regardless of their constitutional make-up and their other outlooks. At the same time those forces must recognize our adherence to the Socialist camp, and they must not bank on the possibility of tearing us away from it. . . ."

"[On the other hand] those comrades who sought by means of simplifications and demagogic tricks to discredit the present correct line as being allegedly anti-Soviet and defeatist, and, indeed, called for a return to the old methods, did the Party a doubtful service. This was a dogmatic attitude . . . and furthered the cause of the anti-Socialist forces. . . ."

Naszkowski also dealt with the Chinese claim to tolerance of "non-antagonistic conflicts" within their society.



Poland's Gomulka (left) shaking hands with East Germany's Ulbricht during the visit of the Polish Party and government delegation to Berlin.

Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw), June 19, 1957

He stressed the "fact" that the Chinese bourgeoisie was now "cooperating" with Communist Party authority. However "our history is different, and our bourgeoisie was strongly bound to international imperialism. But where we can take a leaf from the Chinese book is in the stressing of the ideological sway over the souls of the people. . . . Lenin lays tremendous emphasis on the task of winning over the masses by persuasion . . . with the auxiliary, but not exclusive and principal, application of means of coercion. . . .

No "Unrestricted Freedom"

"If we desire to win the battle for the Socialist consciousness of the masses, for the souls of our youth, we must put an end to the passive attitude toward the cultural poison and trash which have been flooding some journals lately, and our cultural life as well, sapping the morality of the masses, spreading a philosophy of cheap enjoyment and convenience, and glorifying philistinism and lack of ideas. It is not a return to the old, evil methods of bossing or mechanical prohibitions which is involved. . . . But in certain, well-defined instances, the State, embodying the dictatorship of the proletariat, must, and has a right to, reach for the prerogatives of power in the fight against an alien ideological infiltration. Even in bourgeois countries with a would-be integral democracy (integral only in the imagination of our revisionists), no government grants its opponents unrestricted freedom. . . .

"I repeat, it is not a return to the old methods which is involved. A different proportion is envisaged. We want political-educational effects to be the main lever. Coercion and prohibitions [should be] auxiliary means, and not the other way around, as often used to be the case."

"Church Relations"

Sokorski's article dealt similarly with the problems discussed by Naszkowski, but added a few passages which illustrated the uneasiness of the regime in its new permissive relationship with the Church:

"I have no intention of questioning the validity of the moves which led to a relaxation in the relations between us and the Church. This has, on the whole, been a bold and necessary decision which created the conditions for winning broad masses of the Catholic community to the idea of building Socialism. But the peculiar policy of 'co-existence' between us and the Church—though helpful in our internal policy—at the same time makes possible a class and political regrouping of the forces hostile to Socialism.

"Before our eyes the Church is reaching for the souls of our youth. It engages in the most diverse forms of religious organization and sets up new propaganda and press centers. We can and ought to be pleased at the Episcopate's policy of real [international] neutrality, and in particular at its attitude toward the problem of our western borders [i.e., the Western Territories, formerly German]. . . . Still, we cannot help but watch [carefully] the consolidation of our peculiar allies, who are at the same time our ideological opponents. . . . However, with an intel-

ligent, long-range, and patient policy, we can and ought to win this great stake. But we can do so only if the Party knows exactly what is involved and the manner in which it must conduct its political activities in this difficult sphere."

US Aid Welcomed

Signing of the economic agreement with the United States on June 7 was treated by the Polish press as a positive step in the expansion of trade relations, even though, it was pointed out, the credits obtained were relatively small in comparison with the country's needs. The agreement gave Poland trade and commodity credits totalling 48.9 million dollars. A supplementary agreement, not yet signed, will provide an additional 46.1 million dollars in commodity credits if Congress approves the necessary conditions.

A Silesian newspaper *Trybuna Robotnicza* (Katowice), June 9, pointed out that the 95 million dollars was "barely one-third of the sum asked for by the Polish delegation." It also noted that Poland has obtained other credits equivalent to 450 million dollars from the "Socialist camp" as well as credits from non-Communist countries including 32 million dollars from France, 10 million dollars from Italy and other amounts from West Germany and Canada. However, the paper estimated that the two agreements with the United States would enable Poland to finance 47 percent of its raw cotton imports, 30.7 percent of its fat imports and 23.3 percent of its wheat imports in 1957.

Other comments stressed the fact that the agreements had no political strings attached. Radio Warsaw, June 7, said that "all those who speculated that the Polish-US talks were connected with the imposition of some kind of political conditions suffered complete refutation. The agreement is exclusively a business transaction. . . ." The official Party organ *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), June 8, said: "With this credit assistance we will be able to increase production more rapidly and also to increase the volume of marketable goods without renouncing any of our political and economic principles."

The agreement already signed covers the following purchases: 100,000 metric tons of wheat; 25,000 metric tons of cotton; 60,000 metric tons of soybeans; 17,500 metric tons of fats and oils; and 4 million dollars worth of mining machinery. The supplemental agreement would make available 400,000 metric tons of wheat and 24,000 metric tons of cotton. The two governments also agreed to negotiate the settlement of American property claims in Poland and to begin discussions "at an early date" concerning the release of blocked Polish assets in the United States.

Prosecutors' Leniency Condemned

At a national conference of public prosecutors in Warsaw, June 29-30, Chairman of the Council of State Alexander Zawadzki criticized signs of laxity in dealing with political and economic offenses. Zawadzki complained that the prosecutors had shown a "marked tendency towards liberalism," particularly in the sphere of economic crimes,

and called for an end to inertia in handling cases of speculation. He also spoke about the prosecutors' lack of judgment in dealing with "hostile elements" seeking rehabilitation, and he warned that the revival of "anti-Socialist elements" should be regarded as "very dangerous in face of the alarming growing crime wave which is threatening law and order."

Minister of Internal Affairs Wladyslaw Wicha admitted that these charges of "liberalism" were not "without justification," while Prosecutor General Andrzej Burda rejected popular attempts to explain Poland's crime wave as being due to the low living standard. Many crimes had been committed, he said, by individuals who did not "lack bread and butter." That a harsher policy would be pursued in the future was indicated by the Director of the Department of Courts, Majewski, who blamed the increase in crime on the failure of the police to pursue criminals energetically.

Former Security Officials Indicted

On July 1, the General Prosecutors' Office announced that the cases of former Security Police officials Romkowski, Rozanski and Fejgin had been handed to the Warsaw Provincial Court, which would issue an indictment. This action followed a Party resolution approved at the Ninth Plenum in May charging these three men with using impermissible (i.e., "Stalinist") methods of investigation and with attempting to conceal these methods from former Minister of Security Radkiewicz and the Politburo in general (see July issue, p. 42).

"Rehabilitations"

Deputy Prosecutor-General M. Mazur responded to questions from the press concerning the 6,100 applications which have been filed at his office for "rehabilitation." (This is the process in which persons convicted for various "anti-State" crimes by previous regimes, are cleared of all taint of guilt—sometimes posthumously—and characterized as patriotic victims of discredited Stalinist officials.) Of the applications 4,400 have thus far been examined; 2,500 of them have been turned down. Motions for more lenient sentences were attached to 1,000 cases, and 600 of the petitioners were found not guilty.

Queries about economic abuses also came up at the press conference. Mazur stated that provincial prosecutors' offices are presently conducting investigations into more than five hundred major cases (Radio Warsaw, June 24).

Cardinal Wyszynski Returns

After a visit of several weeks at the Vatican, where he was presented the red hat of his Church office, Cardinal Wyszynski returned to Warsaw on June 19 (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], June 20). Representatives of the Episcopate, the clergy and the laity met him on his arrival. No government figures were reported among the greeters. It is a sign of the loosening of tensions between Church and State that the Cardinal could leave the country with full confidence that he would be permitted to return.

The Polish Dream



At the Poznan fair. "The dream of all Polish women is this elegant modern washing machine. But this is only the beginning. There are also refrigerators, kitchen equipment, electrified 'labor'—made in USA."

Swiat (Warsaw), June 16, 1957

Poznan Fair Called "Huge Success"

The 26th International Fair at Poznan, held June 9-23, was visited by over 900,000 people, according to preliminary estimates (*Trybuna Ludu*, June 24). The number included 4,691 foreigners, over 2,000 foreign business representatives and more than 60,000 Polish engineers, technicians and scientists. Thirty-one countries were represented by exhibits at the Fair. "At none of the previous Poznan fairs," said the newspaper, "were there so many official representatives of governments as at the last one, and these not only from Socialist countries but from capitalist countries as well." Polish export-import firms did business totalling over 448 million rubles (112 million dollars), of which 254 million rubles was with "Socialist" countries and 194 million rubles with "capitalist" countries.

When Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz opened the Fair on June 9 he told Polish journalists that it represented "a great improvement" over those of the recent past. "In the past our fairs were of a propaganda rather than of a commercial character. Today they are of an exclusively commercial character and this is the best propaganda." (Radio Warsaw, June 9.)

American Exhibit Attacked

The United States, which participated for the first time, sponsored a show of American consumer goods which drew vast crowds. The interest of the Polish masses in American automobiles, washing machines and Coca Cola brought a bitter comment from the Warsaw radio. A broadcast of June 21 beamed to Polish listeners abroad compared the Polish crowd at the American exhibit to a cage of animals in a zoo. "The saying of Tuwim [a Polish poet] comes to mind: 'The zoological garden is a place where animals watch men.' The Poznan Fair is a place where foreigners watch Poles. This phenomenon drives one mad." The commentator blamed the crowd's enthusiasm on years of anti-American propaganda, "an extremely stupid and clumsy system, which has frequently compromised us and encouraged the imaginations of stupid Poles isolated from the world for so many years."

"The yield of such an unnatural and primitive propaganda is being gathered today. If it were not for the state of chaos in the average Polish mind, the Americans would not dare turn the present fair, which the other countries are treating as a commercial affair, into an arena of propaganda spectacles very cleverly calculated on poverty and the Polish neuroses for goods of foreign origin. They would not have dared to demonstrate the aspects of their luxuri-

In Rural Poland

Peasant demonstrations and disturbances in unspecified rural areas occurred "recently," according to dispatches in the May 15 issue of *Dziennik Ludowy* (Warsaw) and the May 2 *Zielony Sztandar* (Warsaw). Both journals say that the cause of the unrest is lack of interest by authorities in peasant problems. Arrests have taken place, though again no particulars were given. The disturbances were in those villages where collectives were dissolved last year and where the division of land has brought unsolved problems.

* * *

The traditional Whitsuntide "Peoples Holiday" celebrations took place over the Polish countryside on June 9 for the first time since 1946, when the Communists abolished them in favor of May-Day rites, which have never gained popularity among the peasantry.

* * *

Indicative of continued United Peasant Party outspokenness and discontent was the May 15 issue of the party organ *Dziennik Ludowy*, which denounced "bribery, indifference, and laziness" on the part of Communist officials in failing to deliver necessary goods to the villages. The paper also quoted appalling statistics gathered by the Mother and Child Institute: 71 percent of rural two-year-old children have rachitis; 90 percent have bad teeth, 50 to 80 percent have lice.

ous life, disregarding at the same time the essential purpose of the fair. They have treated the Polish crowd to a Coca Cola and laughed their heads off."

New Land Laws Under Discussion

The government is moving to bring order into the confusion of property rights inherited from years of Stalinist farm policy. On June 27 the Council of Ministers approved three draft bills liberalizing the conditions for buying and selling land, regulating the status of farms taken over by the State, and dealing with related questions (Radio Warsaw, June 27). The bills were to be presented to the session of Parliament that opened on July 11. The complex nature of the problem was indicated by a recent article in *Zielony Sztandar* (Warsaw), April 21, organ of the United Peasant Party, which stated that there are more than 120 laws and resolutions concerning the right of ownership alone, and more than 1,500 decrees and "instructions" on the same subject. According to *Trybuna Ludu*, May 23, some 750,000 peasant farms are awaiting the legal establishment of their status. The problem is particularly difficult in Poland because a large proportion of the land was expropriated from German owners after the war; it is further complicated by the redistribution of land which took place in 1945 and 1946; and also by the effort to collectivize agriculture during the years from 1949 to 1956.

Duties Lowered on Foreign Parcels

A government decree of May 23 has abolished import duties on medicines and staple foods. Included in the food list are: flour, groats, bread, fruit, meat and meat products, butter and other edible fats, milk, sour cream, cheese, eggs and egg products, honey, syrup, sugar and cereals. Minimum duties will remain in force on other food items, including rice, nuts and fish. Duties on chocolate are 20 *zloty* per kilogram and on hard candy 5 *zloty* per kilogram. Duties have been reduced on second-hand clothing (5 *zloty* per kilogram) and also on radios, watches, record players, writing equipment and artists' paints (*Dziennik Ustaw* [Warsaw], June 6).

Trybuna Ludu, May 25, said that Polish citizens receive 2.5 million parcels a year from abroad and estimated that the total savings to recipients would be from 150 to 200 million *zloty*.

Czechoslovakia

Central Committee Meets

Jiri Hendrych, one of the Secretaries of the Central Committee, delivered the main report at the Czechoslovak Party CC Plenum in Prague, June 13-14. The sessions were characterized by a tone of extreme anti-liberalization, exemplified by the following extracts from Hendrych's address (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], June 19):

"We shall not tolerate the hostile campaign carried out under the slogan of the fight against so-called 'Stalinism,'

which is an attempt to liquidate the revolutionary foundations of our Marxist-Leninist teachings. We shall defend the great revolutionary merits of Stalin and his important contributions to the development of our country. However we are not closing our eyes to the dangerous manifestations of dogmatism which stemmed precisely from the cult of his personality. . . .

"Advocates of revisionist tendencies have taken as a pretext for their activities the conclusions of the 20th CPSU Congress, particularly its forthright criticism of the harmful results of the cult of personality. They have tried to distort the conclusions of that Congress in an opportunistic, capitalistic fashion, to falsify and misuse them for a general attack against all basic principles of scientific Socialism. In this activity they were immediately aided by the entire collection of reformist and Trotskyite renegades and traitors previously expelled from the Communist parties. . . . The revisionists of today not only pose as Marxists, but in most cases they pose as the only revolutionary and creative Marxists and Leninists. . . . Moreover they lump their attacks against all main principles of Marxist-Leninist teaching under the one heading of the fight against 'Stalinism.'"

After these little-disguised references to the liberalizing Polish Communists, Hendrych gingerly took up the Chinese theory that all flowers must be allowed to blossom, then dropped it hurriedly ("[It] does not mean the reconciliation of Marxism with bourgeois ideology"). He paid his respects to the Soviet Union ("leading force of the world Socialist system") and the Soviet Communist Party ("center of the international revolutionary movement"). He worried briefly over "art and literature . . . and how to strengthen Communist ideas . . . while eliminating incorrect, revisionist, and even directly hostile voices which were becoming apparent during the past year."

Intellectuals Warned

Deputy Premier Vaclav Kopecky also gave his remarks anti-revisionist emphasis (Radio Prague, June 20). "On the question of the vacillation on the part of some of the intelligentsia during critical moments last year. . . . Anyone who thinks that the Party will allow literary journals to be misused for the publication of revisionist, nationalist, bourgeois liberal opinions and for advocating an opposition policy is mistaken."

The Central Committee issued a resolution (read over Radio Prague, June 15) reiterating the points of the speakers and linking revisionism to Western opposition to Communism. There was a paragraph concerning religion: "The Party must not for a moment lose sight of the necessity for overcoming religious prejudices. This must be achieved by systematic and patient education, in order that believers—alone, gradually, and voluntarily—may free themselves from the influence of religion."

Uneasiness as to the political beliefs of youth was suggested in the provision of the resolution proposing that certain special apprentice training schools be closed. "Factories and enterprises will be directly responsible for the education of apprentices . . . to make more use of the immediate influence of older, more experienced workers.

. . . The appearance of certain negative aspects among part of the youth cannot be overlooked."

Writers Warned on Revisionism

Following the Central Committee session (see above), the regime continued its campaign against revisionism at a June 26 plenary session of the Writers' Union in Prague. The chief speakers—First Secretary of the Union Jan Otcenasek and President of Czechoslovakia Antonin Zapotocky—strongly criticized attitudes manifested at the turbulent Second Writers' Congress in April 1956, where leading authors had denounced Party tactics in the Stalinist period, and indicated that, at the present time, the Party would neither tolerate such denunciations nor permit development of the kind of intellectual ferment which sparked the Hungarian Revolt last fall.*

Declaring that Communist writers often had "underestimated the dangers of revisionism," Otcenasek said: "It cannot be a matter of indifference to us if doubts are provoked in the world regarding the content and meaning of proletarian internationalism, if theories arise about the possibilities of building Socialism outside the union of our Socialist camp, or if old, opportunist theories are renewed about some form of spontaneous 'development' of capitalism into Socialism." Otcenasek urged writers to oppose "revisionist attempts" to deny the "class struggle," endorsed the Party's criticism of the Second Writers' Congress, and insisted that Czechoslovak writers stood firmly behind the Party leadership:

"If Free Europe and all enemies of Socialism, as well as some confused pseudo-radicals and petty bourgeois, expect us . . . to oppose the serious criticism the CP of Czechoslovakia has directed at us, we can assure them, on behalf of all the writers of our country, that they are waiting for such [an event] in vain. During the days of the Hungarian events, our writers demonstrated that their place is alongside the Party and that they never will retreat from this position."

In discussing various "erroneous" attitudes manifested at the Second Writers' Congress, Otcenasek pointed out that the Party was opposed not only to the stands taken by poets Frantisek Hrubin and Jaroslav Seifert (who had bitterly condemned the Party's onslaught against poets and poetry in the Stalinist era) but to all speakers whose remarks tended to "endanger the positive political outcome of the Congress." Otcenasek objected particularly to the slogan (advanced by Seifert and applauded by the Congress) that writers were the conscience of the people. "It is necessary," Otcenasek declared, "to reject everything which would make it possible to interpret this slogan as an expression of . . . the writers' superiority [on the basis of which] they . . . would make themselves absolute in political power and . . . contradict the theory and practice of Communism." Emphasizing the necessity for Party leadership, Otcenasek explained that "the conscience of Socialist writers . . . is no idealistic category in itself. It exists

* For a discussion of the Writers' Congress, see the July 1956 issue of this magazine, pp. 3-9.

only as an inseparable part of the morale and the conscience that Communist teaching and the Communist Party represent. . . ."

Towards the end of his speech, Otcenasek attempted to explain why criticism of the Writers' Congress had been so long delayed. He claimed that the Central Committee of the Union did not "sufficiently reject" the "negative features" of the Congress because it "wanted to develop the positive" features: "If we say [now] that we did not distinguish clearly between the Congress' positive contributions and its mistakes, we are not endangering this contribution but want to develop it fully." (Radio Prague, June 28.)

"Poisonous Weeds"

President Zapotocky, also a member of the Union, took an equally strong stand against intellectual ferment. He referred to "ambiguities" manifested at the Second Congress and stated that he considered it his duty to "disassociate himself immediately from . . . the vacillation and vagueness which appeared there." Zapotocky stated further that slogans, such as "writers are the conscience of the people," "the Congress of writers is a new parliament," "full freedom of creation and criticism," etc., denied the role of the Communist Party in the construction of "Socialism." Referring to the Chinese slogan that all flowers must be allowed to blossom, Zapotocky warned that Mao Tse-tung had also declared that "poisonous weeds must not flourish." He pointed out to writers that unless they worked with the Party they would not "prevent the beautiful flowers of Socialist art" from being "suffocated by noxious weeds."

The June 26th session was marked by a spate of self-criticism and obeisance to the Party leadership. The poet Frantisek Hrubin, who drew the greatest applause at the Second Congress, declared that he had never intended to act against the Communist Party, and the editors of the poetry magazine *Kveten* and the literary magazine *Literarni Noviny* conceded that the Party's criticism of their work had been correct. By the end of the meeting, it was evident that the regime was exerting intense pressure to bring its recalcitrant intellectuals into line.

Economic Difficulties

A June 12 Central Committee meeting took a melancholy view of the implementation of the February resolution of the Party Central Committee (Radio Prague, June 14). That resolution had called for the amelioration of basic industrial shortages, lagging labor productivity, and disappointing crop yields (see *East Europe*, April 1957, page 46). Results achieved thus far, according to the broadcast, "are not sufficiently evident." The hard coal industry, on which, perhaps, the greatest emphasis had been placed—to make up for the cut in Polish imports—has not expanded as hoped; housing construction is unsatisfactory; and, contrary to the express orders of the resolution, trains continue to run late.

"To increase the productivity of labor and to lower costs," the regime announced, in the same broadcast, that

a national conference of industries was to be held in June. The extent of the attention being given the uncertain Czechoslovak economy may be judged by the breadth of this conference featuring a series of meetings presided over by officials of the Ministries of Fuel, Power, Chemical Industry, Foundries and Ore Mines, Heavy Engineering, Precision Engineering, Automobile and Agricultural Machine Industry, Consumer Goods, Food Industry and Bulk Buying, Building, Transport, and Local Economy. Leading officials from factories and plants, planning organization functionaries, research institute workers, and trade union representatives attended the meetings.

New Law Encourages Inventions

In an attempt to correct "outdated and faulty" regulations governing innovations and inventions (Radio Prague, June 14), the regime has announced a new bill stipulating that "in the event the State makes use of any invention, an appropriate contract must be drawn, placing on record the part which the inventor has played, the amount of the reward payable, and the manner of payment." The bill also provides rewards for those instrumental in the adoption of innovations and inventions in factory and industrial enterprises.

Increase in Agricultural Collectivization

Rude Pravo (Prague), June 11, published the latest information on agricultural collectivization. The journal claims that 500 kolkhozes have been established since January and that, during 1956—a year in which the fortunes of collectivization in other East European countries ranged from poor to catastrophic—an average of over 100 per month came into being in Czechoslovakia.

In spite of this statistical optimism, the newspaper felt called upon to prod the farmers in "some regions where progress is at a snail's pace. . . . Within the next two or three years it is imperative to attain a position in which not only individuals, but tens and hundreds of thousands decide in favor of collectives."

Priests Jailed

Czech security forces climaxed a drive against members of the Roman Catholic Society of St. Francis de Sales with the jailing of eight priests and monks and the announcement of the pending trial of other Salesian clergymen and an unspecified number of nuns from the Liptal convent in Moravia (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], June 25 to 27). The convicted priests, who received sentences ranging from one to four-and-a-half years, were accused of "disseminating literature hostile to the existing social order in Czechoslovakia and in the USSR . . . and teaching groups of boys to hate our regime."

The Salesian order was dissolved in 1950 by decree of the State, but, according to the newspaper, has continued to exist "illegally" under the direction of Father Vaclav Filipce, who is now under arrest. The nuns of the Liptal convent have been charged with hiding Father Filipce, and the Mother Superior is accused of "administering

medication to cause symptoms of infectious jaundice in one of the mentally sick children who were her pupils. . . . The attempt to cause infectious disease was designed to prevent a search of the cloister." The articles alleged that the convent was a "Vatican spy center" and, of course, "financed from the United States."

Fifteenth Anniversary of Lidice

A mass meeting took place in Lidice, June 16, to commemorate the destruction of the village by Nazi occupation forces fifteen years ago. Delegations from countries in and out of the Soviet orbit heard Zdenek Fierlinger, Chairman of the Czechoslovak National Assembly, deliver the major address. It was a stock Satellite foreign policy oration comparing the present West German government to the totalitarian regime which perpetrated the Lidice massacre (Radio Prague, June 16).

Bulgaria

Top Communists Purged

On July 16, thirteen days after the Soviet purge resolution was made public, the Bulgarian Party CC announced the purge of three top Communists. First Deputy Premier Georgi Chankov was removed from the Politburo and the CC, and Yonko Panov and Dobri Terpeshev were expelled from the CC. The dismissals were made public in a Central Committee communique which charged the three men with "anti-Party activities," as in the Soviet purge. Chankov specifically was accused of "systematically weakening the collective unity" of the Politburo and the CC through "factional activity," and of adopting a policy contrary to that of the Party. Similarly, Panov and Terpeshev were charged with "continuing activity aimed against the CC and Party unity," despite severe warnings from the Party leadership. The purge was performed at a July 11 plenary session of the CC, where the three men were "severely condemned" for their disruptive activities.

On December 26, 1952, Chankov, formerly Communist Minister of Transport, was appointed to the important post of Chief of the State Planning Commission. On January 17, 1957, he was replaced in this post and was made First Deputy Premier. On July 17, a day after his ouster from the Party hierarchy, Chankov was replaced as First Deputy Premier by Politburo member and Minister of Trade Raiko Damyanov. The new Trade Minister is Boris Tashkov, who gave up his post in the Central Committee Secretariat to Stanko Todorov. Todorov resigned as Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in favor of his deputy Ivan Primov. Chankov's removal from the government suggested that Terpeshev, currently Minister of Labor, might also lose his post in the near future.

Youth to Work in the Soviet Union

In a move to alleviate the critical unemployment problem, the Bulgarian regime has begun a campaign to sign up young men and women to three-year labor contracts for work in Russian mines, building projects and State farms. *Narodna Mladezh* (Sofia), the organ of the Dimitrov Youth Union, stated on June 6 that the move "brought great joy, because it results from thousands of suggestions made by our youth from all over the country and is the incarnation of their long years of dreaming of their love for the Soviet Union."

There have been no published reports in Bulgaria of the number of workers who have gone to Russia. On January 8, the Polish newspaper, *Glos Pracy*, had reported that 15,000 Bulgarians were scheduled to leave for the USSR. Radio Moscow, however, on July 5, anticipated the arrival of only 10,000.

Radio Bratislava announced on June 8 that 1,300 Bulgarians would come to work in Czechoslovakia, mostly in the building industry enterprises in the west Bohemian region.

Third Congress of Artisans' Cooperatives

The Third Congress of the Union of Producer Cooperatives was held in Sofia June 20-22. The organization is a union of 1,016 artisans' cooperatives engaged in plumbing, barbering and the production of shoes, clothes and other light industrial products. An editorial in *Rabotnicheskoto Delo* (Sofia), June 23, said that the number of workers belonging to the cooperatives had risen from 66,000 in 1953 to nearly 100,000 at present, and that they account for 8.2 percent of Bulgaria's industrial production. The trade union newspaper *Trud* (Sofia), June 20, criticized the cooperatives for poor quality production, delay in filling orders and high prices—criticisms which were echoed in the reports of the delegates and in the final resolution. The last previous Congress met in 1952.

Fourth Congress of Central Cooperative Union

The Central Cooperative Union, which is the organization representing the rural trading enterprises, met in Sofia June 11-13. The president of the Union, Peko Takov, reported to the delegates that the organization now handles 43.7 percent of Bulgaria's retail distribution, as well as the buying and processing of substantial quantities of agricultural produce. He said that the network includes 1,790 rural cooperatives, 114 city cooperatives, 4,468 storehouses, 10,712 shops, 5,840 canteens, 3,500 milk processing stations, 1,354 dairies and 301 hog farms (*Rabotnicheskoto Delo*, June 12).

Recent and Related

Tides of Crisis, by A. A. Berle, Jr., (*Reynal*: \$4.00). The problems facing the US as a leader in a revolutionary world are the subject of this study by the distinguished statesman-scholar. The author's major concern is with the challenge to peaceful international relations posed by the Soviet Union. After a concise review of the development of Soviet foreign policy, Professor Berle examines Soviet strategy in crucial areas of the world: Europe, the Middle East, and the former colonial nations of Africa and Asia. The last section of this comprehensive study discusses the means by which international tensions may be lessened. In this work designed primarily for the layman, the author has brought into sharp focus the major issues on the international scene. Index.

Nightmare and Dawn, by Mark Aldanov (*Duell, Sloan & Pearce*: \$4.50). In this novel of intrigue and espionage, the major figures are an American Military Intelligence Colonel and his Soviet counterpart in Berlin from 1952 to 1955. The action results from a contest of wits between these two men. Mr. Aldanov, a Russian exile, is well qualified to write on Russia and the West, and the tensions resulting from their conflict. Beneath the romance and adventure, the novel presents a convincing picture of the conditions in post-war Europe.

The Soviet Union After Stalin, by Helene and Pierre Lazareff (*Philosophical Library*: \$6.00). The co-authors, distinguished French journalists, after accompanying the Comedie Francaise on an official visit to Moscow in 1953, obtained permission to stay on for an additional six weeks. Here they recount their experiences during this time, their impressions of everyday life in the USSR, and the attitudes of the Soviet man-in-the-street. One prevailing belief which the authors note is a feeling that "things are better since Stalin died." The climate of fear has been tempered, there is increased regime tolerance toward religion (so long as the Church continues to serve the State's interests), and more consumer goods are available. Nevertheless, by Western standards, conditions in the Soviet Union are still deplorable. People continue to fear speaking to for-

eigners, there is a notable upsurge in propaganda efforts, the ever-expanding bureaucracy is assuming more and more the aspects of an elite class, and items such as cars, silk stockings or lipstick are almost unheard of luxuries. The authors also describe a remarkable visit to the Hermitage Museum where they found world-famous masterpieces casually stored in an attic.

Soviet Russia and the West, 1920-1927, by Xenia Joukoff Eudin and Harold H. Fisher (*Stanford Univ.*: \$10.00). This book is a documentary survey of the seven years during which Russian Communist leaders were ostensibly carrying on normal relations with foreign countries, while simultaneously promoting difficulties between and within the same nations. The authors have tied together documented material which shows the origins of Soviet foreign policy objectives in the West and represents Soviet Russia's first attempt at formulating and carrying out a policy of "peaceful co-existence." Bibliography and index.

Soviet Russia and the East, 1920-1927, by Xenia Joukoff Eudin and Robert C. North (*Stanford Univ.*: \$10.00). In 1920, after three years of civil war, the Soviet government entered a new phase in its foreign relations, and laid down the principles which still guide its actions. This volume presents a documentary survey of seven crucial years in the history of Soviet relations with Asia. The authors have selected and translated materials which best show the genesis of Soviet objectives in the East, the theories on which these objectives were based, the main lines of action that emerged from the theories, and the chief tactical shifts that occurred during this critical period. Bibliography and index.

A Short History of Russia, by R. D. Charques (*Dutton*: \$3.95). Addressing himself primarily to the laymen, the author has packed into one concise volume a narrative history of Russia from the ninth century to the present. Finding a great degree of continuity in Russian history, the author writes that although the October Revolution brought vast transformations to Russia "the

threads of continuity with the past remained unbroken." Thus, this study has focused on the constant factors in Russian history. Mr. Charques has stressed, for one, the determining role of geography. The formative part played by the autocrat at various periods in Russian history as well as the continuing factor of peasant hostility to authority are discussed. Still other controlling features in Russian history have been its multi-national character, and the disparate cultural levels of the population. Index.

Nightmare of the Innocents, by Otto Larsen (*Philosophical Library*: \$6.00). Otto Larsen, a Norwegian fisherman and Communist, had done intelligence work for the USSR against the Nazis. When, after the war, he refused to continue this activity, he was accused of spying against the Soviet Union and, without trial, given a ten-year prison sentence. In terse, unemotional terms, he tells of his grim and dreary years in a Soviet slave labor camp. Beyond the personal suffering of the author, two dominant features of Soviet life emerge from these pages: the one is fear, the other inhumanity. Mr. Larsen makes quite clear the cold inhumanity of the Soviet system of arrest, accusation, interrogation and fake trial—when there is a trial. Mr. Larsen writes that his joy in his ultimate release and return to Norway was marred by the knowledge that millions of others are still entombed.

The Challenge of Coexistence, by Hugh Gaitskell (*Harvard Univ.*: \$2.50). In a series of three lectures delivered at Harvard University, the leader of the British Labor Party explores the implications of coexistence. Despite the limitations of the United Nations, the author believes that it provides the best answer to the problem of international cooperation. He points out that the UN serves as a forum for world opinion, sets a standard for international conduct, offers such devices as truce commissions and the recently created military force, and has established many non-political agencies which foster world amity. NATO, West Europe's counterpart to the UN, Mr. Gaitskell holds, does serve a vital function in maintaining a balance of power.



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